THE

HISTORY

OF THE

UNION

BETWEEN

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

8142.d 8

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

UNION

BETWEEN

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE ARTICLES OF UNION, &c.

BY DANIEL DE FOE.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY JOHN EXSHAW, 98, GRAFTON-STREET.

1799.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE.

AT a time when the public mind is almoſt entirely occupied with the conſideration of a propoſed Union of Ireland to Great Britain; the Editor of the following Extracts cannot believe an apology to be neceſſary for offering to the people of Ireland information on a ſubject of ſuch importance.

But he feels it incumbent on him to explain his reaſons for preſenting the Extracts in the form in which they now appear.

It was natural in ſeeking for information on the queſtion of an incorporate Union, to recur to the Hiſtory of the Union by which Scotland and England became the united realm of Great Britain; that Union is not only

only the lateſt on record, but perhaps the only one which has ever occurred in which two nations have coaleſced and become one Empire by mutual agreement and regular treaty.

The voluminous compilation of Daniel De Foe, which is entitled, The Hiſtory of the Union, is certainly the beſt and moſt copious ſource of information on this very intereſting point; but the ſize of the work, the heaps of original documents, (many of them very irrelevant) and the dearneſs of the book, have placed the means of information beyond the patience of ſome, and beyond the ability of many.

To furniſh a compendious account of the Scotch Union occurred at firſt as the moſt eligible ſcheme; but the labour of abridging, and the difficulty of conveying facts in the clear and impreſſive ſtile of De Foe, put an end to this intention.

The

The reader will therefore find in the following ſheets, An account of Affairs in both Kingdoms, introductory of a Treaty of Union —Account of the laſt Treaty properly called the Union—and the Hiſtory of the Union, written by De Foe, freed from the embarraſſment of theſe original papers which he thought neceſſary to add as his authorities.

The Treaty of Union, as exemplified under the great ſeal of England, is given here at large.

To give ſome idea of the arguments by which the meaſure was ſupported and oppoſed, the ſpeeches of Mr. Seton, of Pitmedden, an advocate for the meaſure, and of Lord Belhaven, its moſt celebrated opponent, are added.

* * * * *

The parts of De Foe's work which we have omitted are,

His general Hiſtory of Unions in Britain.

Minutes

Minutes of the proceedings of the Lords Commiſſioners of Scotland. Minutes of the Parliament of Scotland, and Obſervations thereon. (This article occupies 242 pages of the Quarto edition.)

The Act ratifying the Union.

And an Appendix of 185 pages.

13 JY 63

OF

AFFAIRS IN BOTH KINGDOMS,

INTRODUCTORY OF A

TREATY OF UNION.

BEFORE I enter upon the proceedings in the reign of Queen Anne, towards a general Union of theſe kingdoms, it is abſolutely neceſſary to the right underſtanding of things, to take a ſhort view of the poſture of public affairs in the reſpective kingdoms, and what it was that rendered the Union ſo abſolutely neceſſary at this time, that to all conſidering people, who made any tolerable judgment of things, it was plain there was no other way left, to prevent the moſt bloody war that ever had been between the two nations.

At the revolution, as has been already noted, and ſeveral times during the reign of the late King William, motions had been made frequently, both on the King's ſide, and on the peoples alſo, to come to a treaty; but that Prince had always one thing or other caſt in his way, to prevent his good deſign.

The King was often heard to ſay, that this iſland could never be eaſy without an Union, and if either of them underſtood their own happineſs, they would

never reſt till it was brought to paſs. And, as I had the honour to mention it once among other things, in a ſcheme of general peace among the Proteſtant intereſts in Europe, I cannot forget, that his Majeſty expreſſing ſome concern at it, returned, "I have done all I can in that affair; but I do "not ſee a temper in either nation that looks like "it;"—and added, after ſome other diſcourſe, "It "may be done, but not yet."

During the whole reign of this prince, the breaches between the two kingdoms rather widened and increaſed, than tended to a cloſe; and ſeveral national unkindneſſes paſſed between them, which prepared both ſides, as it were, to reflect upon and reproach the other; there wanted not alſo a ſet of wicked inſtruments always to blow the coals of diſcord between the kingdoms into a flame, and, if poſſible, to bring the nations to a rupture.

Some of theſe paſſages which, I ſay, tended to eſtrange the nations, and, as it were, prepare them for a breach, rather than for an Union, were theſe:

The ſettling an African or Indian Company in Scotland, and the ſeveral claſhings of intereſt between the two nations on that head.

The affair of Glenco.

The difficulties about the ſucceſſion and limitations.

The act of ſecurity there.

The act in England intituled, "an act for pre-"venting dangers ariſing from the Act of Security "in Scotland."

The ſeizing the ſhip the Worceſter, and execution of Captain Green, and ſeveral others.—

All theſe things concurred to convince thoſe that had the leaſt knowledge of affairs in both kingdoms, that nothing but an Union could prevent the nations falling all to pieces; as ſoon as ever the Queen

Queen ſhould die, if not ſooner; and that, therefore, it was immediately and heartily to be ſet about, as the only way to preſerve the public tranquillity, and prevent the certain miſchiefs that threatened the whole body.

I ſhall not enter into a particular hiſtory of theſe ſeveral caſes, as being too tedious for this tract; but as it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething of them, to convey the right underſtanding of theſe matters to poſterity, and that more regularly to introduce the general thing I am upon, *viz.* The Union, I cannot wholly omit them.

And firſt, for the African Company, the large commiſſion that Company obtained, by which they ſeemed to rival the Engliſh, both in their Guinea, Eaſt-India, and Weſt-India trade, was ill reliſhed by the Engliſh, who at that time were in an odd and unſettled poſture, as to thoſe trades at home. And as this is not rightly underſtood by a great many, that run round about for reaſons of the Engliſh Parliament's falling upon that affair, it may not be amiſs to ſet it in a clearer light.

The Engliſh Eaſt India trade, being for a long time preſcribed in the narrow limits of an excluſive Company, who tyrannized not a little in their abſolute management of that trade, and became grievous to the reſt of the merchants, many attempts were made to lay open their ſtock, and increaſe ſo great, and ſo beneficial a trade; but the Company withſtood all the attempts that way, and kept all invaders off; till at laſt by the mighty advance of two millions to the government, the new Eaſt-India Company got a charter, and ſet up againſt them:—How they rivalled one another, and with mighty ſtruggles too much embarraſſed the whole nation, till the King himſelf was obliged to concern himſelf in uniting them; and how he brought that great work to paſs, are things not ſo

much to my preſent purpoſe; but, at this time, viz. 26 June, 1695, the Scots Company obtained their ſettlement.

Whatever proſpects the projectors of that Company had in their view, ſome of which will, I doubt, hardly bear a hiſtory, I never heard one of them pretend, that either the ſtock to carry it on, or the market for their trade, could be found in Scotland; and from hence, with other particular objections, which, I believe, they never debated, I pretend to ſay, they could never really propoſe any rational probability of ſucceſs.

If they imagined to obtain help from abroad, they indeed were in the right, for they could not but know, that the merchants in England would leap at a propoſal to get into the Eaſt-India trade, free from the bondage of the Company mentioned before;—but if they imagined alſo, that this could do leſs than embark the Engliſh Government againſt them, and bring the Public to concern themſelves about it, they were exceeding ſhort-ſighted, or muſt at the ſame time believe the other very ignorant in the affairs before them.

The firſt ſtep the Company took, was to open books for ſubſcriptions at London, and afterwards at Hamburgh; and this was no ſooner done, but the Engliſh Company took the alarm at both, and obtained, by their intereſt with the Government, inſtructions to the Engliſh Reſident at Hamburgh to oppoſe it there, which was done moſt effectually. The Engliſh Reſident, as it was ſaid, tacitly threatening the Hamburghers, that the Engliſh ſhould remove their ſtaple of cloth to the city of Bremen, and ruin the trade of Hamburgh: whether he did actually threaten them ſo or no, I do not affirm; but, it is certain, he ſo managed affairs, that the ſubſcriptions begun there were ſtopped, and the deſign on that ſide effectually ruined. Then they

they (I mean the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company) applied themſelves to the Engliſh Parliament, and, by offering plauſible reaſons there, ſoon obtained their votes againſt it alſo, and againſt any of the ſubjects of England ſubſcribing to it; and the Scots merchants, who had ſubſcribed in England, were ordered to be impeached of a miſdemeanor, though the Parliament being near a cloſe, thoſe impeachments dropped of courſe.

Theſe things had the deſired effect; for they cruſhed the attempt of raiſing a new Eaſt-India Company in theſe parts of the world; and the projectors then played their other game of Darien, in which they had the ſame unhappineſs, viz. to put the Engliſh nation under a neceſſity of oppoſing them.

I do readily allow, the firſt ſcheme of a trade to the Eaſt-Indies had a probability of ſucceſs in it; a thing I cannot grant to the affair of Darien; which, I think, had not one branch belonging to its contrivance, but what was big with neceſſary abortions, ſuch as remote mines of gold to be gained and maintained by force againſt the Spaniards, in which England could not, without breach of faith, aſſiſt; ſuch as a trade for European goods with the Spaniſh Colonies, which muſt always have been by force, or by ſtealth; and neither of theſe had any rational probability.

As to their trade over land to the South Seas, and thence to the Indies, though much boaſted of, it anſwers for itſelf, and ſeems a too impracticable whimſy to merit any reply, much like that other dream of making a navigation, or communication between the South Seas and the gulph of Mexico, by the river of Darien; which, if all were done, and the diſtance meaſured to that part of India, to which we chiefly trade, viz. the Coaſt of Coromandel, Surat, Bay of Bengal, &c. I think any body

body will determine the voyage by the Cape of Good Hope, the better paſſage by much, and very little if any thing longer.

But to come to the caſe: the Company, or rather the projectors, who had now embarked the gentlemen in a ſubſcription of 400,000 pounds ſterling, carried on their deſign, and with two ſhips.

Men and a cargo perfectly unqualified for any kind of trade, either with Engliſh or Spaniards, ſet ſail, and landing at Darien, made a ſettlement there, fortified themſelves, and prepared to maintain it.

The Spaniards, who claim a right there, (and whether that right be diſputable, or no, is not the queſtion here) immediately proceed by a double method, firſt, to prepare to diſlodge them by force; and ſecondly, apply themſelves to the King of England, claiming, by virtue of the treaty made with England, ratified and exchanged, that no ſuccour ſhould be given to the Scots from any of the Engliſh colonies in America.

This, as an expreſs ſtipulation, could not be denied by the Engliſh Court; and accordingly a proclamation was exhibited by the King of England, and ſent to all the Engliſh plantations, forbidding trade or correſpondence with them.

I cannot help ſaying, had the managers of the Company's affairs had the leaſt forecaſt of things, they could not but have expected all that happened here; and alſo might have known, that had they acted right, thoſe proclamations could have done them no manner of damage.

Whoever has the leaſt knowledge of the affairs of that country, and of the trade of the Engliſh colonies, muſt needs know, that, had the Scots Company, who had placed themſelves at Darien, been furniſhed either with money, or letters of credit, they had never wanted proviſions, or come

to

to any other diſaſter, notwithſtanding the proclamations of the Engliſh againſt correſpondence.

Nor will any man be ſo vain to ſay, that they ought to have ventured on ſuch a ſettlement, depending on ſupplies from the Engliſh, eſpecially when, in their affairs of Hamburgh and London, which were before all this, they had ſeen the Engliſh concerning themſelves againſt their Company; much leſs ſhould they have gone to plant themſelves in a climate unfit for product itſelf, with neither caſh nor credit to buy in other places.

At laſt it is apparent, that, notwithſtanding the proclamations, and after all the officious care of the Governors of the Engliſh colonies, yet ſeveral ſloops of proviſions came to them, but found them on the other hand unfurniſhed to purchaſe, except with ſuch goods as were fit for no market; nor could they give bills any where to make good the value.

The trade to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies is forbidden in thoſe parts, under the ſevereſt penalties of loſs of goods, confiſcation of the ſhip, and death of the people; and yet we ſee, that, at Jamaica for the Engliſh, and Curaſoe for the Dutch, they carry on a prodigious trade, encouraged by the gain of it.

Had the Scots at Darien had any thing ſufficient to encourage the traders thither, they had never wanted proviſions; and as they were unprovided that way, they muſt have ſtarved, had there been no prohibitions at all; for they would have found few of the planters, or merchants of the colonies, inclined to have furniſhed them without money.

This I think clears up the caſe ſufficiently, and therefore I ſhall ſay no more to it here; it is thus far to the preſent purpoſe, that this diſaſter of the Scots, be the fault where it will, was one of the

great

great occaſions of ill blood between the nations; while thoſe that took all opportunities to widen our breaches on both ſides, continually cried out in England, that the Scots were encroaching upon our trade, and ſetting up a new Eaſt India trade; and, on the other hand, in Scotland they complained of the unnatural and barbarous treatment of the Engliſh; both which took with the common people of either nation, to the unſpeakable diſquieting of their minds, and raiſing continual reproaches againſt one another, without giving themſelves leave to inquire into the grounds and reaſons of things.

I have been the larger on this head, becauſe I think this to be the firſt handle that our quarrelſome people took hold of to object againſt one another, and on which the future jealouſies between the nations were pretended to be built.

The affair of Glenco was another ſtep to national breaches; and though every body tells me, I muſt handle this very gently, perhaps they may ſee there is not ſo much cauſe for it as they imagine.

And having the honour to have had ſomething of this from perſons very near the King, and perhaps from His Majeſty's own mouth, I ſhall only ſtate the general, ſo far as it has been reported to the injury of that glorious Prince, and to the exciting national animoſities between us.

In doing this, I ſhall only avoid naming of perſons, let the guilt die in their graves; we are not now calling up the perſons to judgment, but ſetting the matter in a clear light.

That the Glenco men, among ſeveral other clans of the Highlanders, were enemies to the Government at that time, had been in arms under Dundee, and had on all occaſions ſhewn their implacable averſion to King William, and all the intereſt of the

the Revolution, needs no proof, and is owned even by the greateſt friends to the cauſe.

That theſe people were not only very troubleſome, but dangerous, and had committed ſeveral hoſtilities, murders, robberies and depredations, on both the innocent country people their neighbours, as well as on the garriſon of ſoldiers placed on that ſide to ſuppreſs them, is alſo out of diſpute.

The defence made for this is ſhort,—that they were fair enemies, and had profeſſed open war.

It is anſwered thus: that,

1. They cannot be owned as open enemies, becauſe they really had no commiſſions from King James. And 2dly. The war was as it were ſuppreſſed; the generality had laid down their arms, and ſubmitted; and theſe, as a few deſperadoes, kept up the quarrel rather as an advantage of rapine and plunder, than a ſervice to their pretended maſter, or his cauſe.

2. Suppoſe them at open war, it has been the known practice in war, when a governor of a garriſon holds out without expectation of relief, without any proſpect but mere deſperation and miſchief, to give ſuch no quarter; no conditions at all; but even after taking the place, to hang them up in cold blood, as wild beaſts, that make no fair war, and deſerve no fair treatment.

As His Majeſty had this account given him of theſe people, and I do not find but it was a true account too, it was the advice of the General and Officers employed at that time, that it was a miſchief which, as times then went, might be very dangerous to the Public, and that therefore it behoved them to take ſome immediate courſe with them; and ſince deſperate miſchiefs require remedies of the ſame kind, they thought the firſt force the beſt, and propoſed to march immediately with a body of troops into the place, and intire-

ly

ly root them out as a den of thieves and deſtroyers, without which the peaceable ſubjects could never be ſafe, nor the Government be eaſy: that the charge of maintaining troops there was an intolerable burden to the country, and as there was no other way could prevail to preſerve the peace, it was abſolutely neceſſary to come to extremity.

His Majeſty, who, by his experience in military affairs, was ſoon convinced both of the juſtice in point of war, and neceſſity in point of government, of this advice; yet, out of his mere goodneſs of diſpoſition and general clemency, anſwered, he agreed to their reaſons, but required, that before any ſuch extremities ſhould be uſed with them, a proclamation ſhould be publiſhed, offering pardon, or remiſſion, for all violences and villainies paſt, to all thoſe people without exception, who within a certain time ſhould come in, lay down their arms, and ſubmit to the Government, and take the oaths as peaceable ſubjects.

It is here viſible that His Majeſty's intentions were not only juſt and honourable to theſe people, though his implacable enemies, but that he reſolved, like a merciful Prince, to try all reaſonable methods of tenderneſs and goodneſs, if poſſible, to keep the peace, and ſave the offenders too.

With this proclamation, commiſſion was given to the military power, if this merciful method could not prevail, they ſhould proceed to extremities; and by force of arms deſtroy all thoſe that ſhould ſtand out, and not comply with the proclamation. And His Majeſty's orders were, as far as relates to this part, as follows

The inſtructions were to Sir Thomas Livingſtoun, dated January 11, 1692. The firſt clauſe is thus:

"You

"You are hereby ordered and authorized to "march our troops, which are now poſted at In- "nerlochie and Innerneſs, to act againſt thoſe "Highland rebels, who have not taken the benefit "of our indemnity, by fire and ſword, and all man- "ner of hoſtilities; to burn their houſes, ſeize or "deſtroy their goods, cattle, pleniſhing or clothes, "and to cut off the men."

The fourth article runs thus:

"That the rebels may not think themſelves ab- "ſolutely deſperate, we allow you to give terms "and quarters; but we are ſo convinced of the ne- "ceſſity of ſeverity, and that they cannot be re- "claimed, that we will not allow you to give any "other terms to chieftains, heretors, or lead- "ers, but to be priſoners of war, whereby their "lives are ſaved; but for all other things they "muſt ſurrender on mercy, and take the oath of "allegiance."

In additional inſtructions, one clauſe is thus dated the 16th of Jan. 1692.

"If that Mackean of Glenco, and his tribe, can "be well ſeparated from the reſt, it will be a pro- "per vindication of the public juſtice to extirpate "that ſect of thieves."

Thus far I think I may undertake to ſay his Majeſty proceeded by the known cuſtom of all the moſt juſt governments in the world, and it would be needleſs to examine hiſtories to bring precedents here to juſtify the method.

It is certain, and all men allow that the Glenco men had not complied with the proclamation; nay, they had rejected two indemnities.

I know it is objected, that Glenco came and took the oath ſix days after the time, made a legal and juſt excuſe, and ſent word of his willingneſs to comply with it, and that it was only a treſpaſs of time, which they ſuppoſed he had repaired; that the

the end of the proclamation was anſwered, and that the King, who was mercifully inclined, would never have taken the lives of people, reſolved to ſubmit, for a treſpaſs of days.

To this I anſwer, as his Majeſty himſelf did in that caſe, that indeed had he been in the field, and on the ſpot, and that excuſe had been ſent to him, he might have accepted it; but that as commiſſions in caſes of war are to be punctually executed, he could not require it of the officers to accept it as an excuſe againſt a poſitive proclamation, and an expreſs order; beſides, I do not find any but the chief had gone thus far, the reſt not having come in at all.

It is alledged, that the execution was from private malice; but none could ever yet have the face to charge His Majeſty with that; and I could never hear of any reaſon given why the commanders of the forces ſhould have any, much leſs thoſe at whom the ſcandal of it was pointed, upon pretence of giving unwarrantable orders.

But the caſe chiefly lies here: the men fell under the misfortune of a criſis in war; they brought themſelves into it by an omiſſion of time; to ſay, they could not avoid it, does not reach the caſe: if the officers can be charged with any private revenge in this caſe: I have only this to ſay.

1. I never yet ſaw any reaſon to think ſo; no perſonal grudge or quarrel ever appeared, that I ever met with, or was ſo much as alledged in it, or gain pretended to be made by it, if the Earl of B—— had any private game, it neither affected the King, nor the other perſons charged with the thing.

2. If it were ſo, it no way affects the King, againſt whom the reproach of this affair is ſince pointed, who acted nothing but what was agreeable

to

to the laws of war, and mixed it with that general bleſſing of his temper, an unuſual clemency.

If the commiſſion given was executed with barbarity, and blood, killing people in what we call cold blood, ſurpriſing them in peace, and dependence on ſafety, all this will turn upon the merits of the firſt cauſe: for if they were by the laws of war to be deſtroyed, all manner of ſurpriſes become juſtified by the ſame law. As to the cruelties and exceſſes of the furious ſoldiers, no man can have the face to reproach His Majeſty with that.

The grand queſtion remains yet behind, why did not the King cauſe the offenders to be made examples, and ſeverely puniſh the murderers?

I ſhall anſwer,

1. If his Majeſty's peculiar was too much clemency, I think ſome of thoſe that make the loudeſt exclamations on this article ought to be ſilent; ſince, had exemplary juſtice been his Majeſty's employment from his firſt landing, we ſhould have no reaſon to have ſaid, it was a bloodleſs revolution; nor they perhaps have been alive to complain.

2. For the reaſons aforeſaid, his Majeſty often ſaid, it was a moot-point in war, whether they had broken orders, or no; and though I have the honour to know that his Majeſty exceedingly reſented the manner, yet it did not appear at all that they had laid themſelves open to military juſtice in it, or ſo much as given ground to call them to account before a council of war.

As to national, or civil juſtice, the memory of the King can never be reflected upon in that, unleſs ſome perſons had purſued them at law, obtained ſentence againſt them, and his Majeſty had protected them from the proſecution or execution of ſuch ſentences.

Thus

Thus far, I think the King himſelf is intirely clear of this matter; who elſe may have been guilty, and how, either of breaking orders, going beyond them on nicities, and executing them with barbarities, I have no occaſion to enter upon here; I ſhall be far from defending ſuch things, and I am ſure his Majeſty was far from approving it.

But this is more completely anſwered, by putting the world in mind, that his Majeſty did refer the proſecution of that affair wholly to the Parliament, as more particularly appears by the Parliament's Addreſs of Thanks to his Majeſty for ſo doing.

And that in their proſecution they found no room for legal proceſs, except againſt the officer who executed the orders in a manner ſo barbarous, which officer fled from juſtice, and was proſcribed for not appearing.

So that here was no legal proceſs interrupted; but all was frankly remitted by his Majeſty to the ſevereſt methods of juſtice, which if it would not reach the perſons concerned, it is very hard the ſlander ſhould reach the King.

It might be ſaid here, you have no occaſion to defend the King's memory in this caſe, ſince the Parliament of Scotland cleared his Majeſty, by their unanimous vote of the 14th of June, viz. "That "his Majeſty's inſtructions contained no warrant "for the execution of the Glenco men."

I ſhall only obſerve, that it is true the Parliament paſſed ſuch a vote, and it is as true the King reſented very ill their uſage of him, as he had great reaſon to do, frequently repeating, that he thanked the Parliament of Scotland, they had uſed him better than England had done his grandfather; for they had tried him for his life, and brought him in *Not Guilty*. I muſt confeſs, it was very unaccountable the Houſe ſhould paſs ſuch a vote upon their Sovereign, whom no man had had the impudence

to

to own a reflection upon in the caſe, though they did it clandeſtinely; and it had much better have become them, to have ſearched after, and puniſhed thoſe that ſlandered the King on that account.

But the reproaching the King, and thoſe employed by him, and who under him gave orders in it, had its party uſes; what end it anſwered at that time is very well known, and would make a very good hiſtory, to the reproach of ſome pretenders to revolution principles; but I chooſe to bury theſe things in ſilence, neither are they any part of this deſign.

I have aſſigned this as a ſecond ground of national animoſity; not that it was acted by any of the Engliſh nation, but as the gentlemen who improved it, turned it all againſt the King, it was ſtill furniſhing matter of raillery againſt the Revolution and Succeſſion, which both turned upon one point, and was now ſupported and puſhed on in Scotland, by the intereſt and influence of the Engliſh Court.

I have digreſſed upon the ſubject on no other ground, than to clear up the reproaches which envy would fain fix on the King and his memory, which, I think, not at all accountable for it.

3. The next general head, on which our national diſcontents have been revived, and indeed which has been ſtrangely iſſued, has been the ſucceſſion of the crown.

This has a long chain of derivations to fetch it from, but I ſhall contract them into as ſmall a compaſs as I can.

The original of the whole debate is to be placed, if we will do juſtice, in his late Majeſty's ſincere and conſtant care for the peace and ſecurity of theſe kingdoms.

The King had ſeen the proſpects of an Union fly like a remote ſhadow, as it were out of ken, and finding reaſon to lay aſide the thoughts of that

bleſſed

bleſſed conjunction, he found the next ſtep needful was, to preſerve the public peace, and hand down our liberties to poſterity, under the ſame ſecurity he had ſo happily fixed them in; in order to this, his Majeſty began to ſet himſelf ſeriouſly to work to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the crown in the Proteſtant line.

Before I enter into this large field, I muſt take one opportunity more to exalt the memory of the King, and put theſe nations in mind of the care that Prince took, abſtracted from his own intereſt, to ſettle both the liberties and religion of this iſland, in ſpite of all the ill treatment he met with here.

Upon the Revolution, a great deal of clamour and reproach had been levelled at the King, as if he purſued his own intereſt in the taking the crown of England; though I muſt acknowledge I am at a loſs to find out what he gained by it, though I have had opportunities to know ſomething of his Majeſty's affairs; but ſure, nobody could charge his Majeſty with having an eye to his intereſt, in what ſhould happen after his death; he could have nothing to propoſe to himſelf beyond the grave;—it could be of no moment to him, who ſhould enjoy the crown after him, ſince he had no children of his own, nor could he expect the ſucceſſion ſhould come to any branch of his family.

Covetouſneſs and ambition may guide Princes in their purſuit of honours and poſſeſſions, to themſelves and their families; but when a Prince has no family, no relations that can enjoy after him, it cannot be rational to talk of ambition or intereſt in that caſe.

His Majeſty's memory is therefore untainted, and even the enemies of his fame are defeated here; for the very pretence fails them. His anxiety for the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion could favour of nothing but

but a mere concern and reſpect for the intereſt, ſafety, and liberty of the country; and let any man give any other rational account of it, if he can: but this is by the way.

In purſuit of this original deſign, his Majeſty laid the ground-plot of the ſucceſſion to the Houſe of Hanover, went himſelf to Hanover, and thence to Zell, to concert the meaſures of it on that ſide, maſtered ſome difficulties there too, and then propoſed it to the Engliſh Parliament.

How it paſſed in the Engliſh nation; what oppoſition was made to it there, and by whom; what ſubſequent laws were made to ſtrengthen and ſupport it, is not much to the preſent purpoſe to examine; hiſtories are full of the particular circumſtances, and nobody that knows any thing of what paſſed in thoſe times can be ignorant of it.

It remained only to make the ſame proviſion for Scotland; and the King began to turn his eyes thither, when he was taken off by death; and Queen Anne ſucceeded, not to his crown only, but to the ſame care and concern for the public peace, and for the ſettlement of the nations, by ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the crown.

But to look into Scotland a little: The Scots received the propoſal of the ſucceſſion with more coldneſs and diffidence than was expected; and the heats occaſioned by the debates on both ſides were extraordinary. The oppoſition made to the continuation of their united ſtate in a ſucceſſor had a ſpecious and moſt unanſwerable pretence to be made for it, though it was made uſe of by two ſorts of people, with a quite different proſpect.

The Scots had been very ſenſible of the viſible decay of trade, wealth, and inhabitants in their country, even from the firſt giving away their Kings to the Engliſh ſucceſſion; and, as the ſinking condition of their nation was plainly owing to the loſs

of their court, concourſe of people, the diſadvantages of trade, and the influence the Engliſh had over their Kings; ſo, it was as plain, there was no way to recover themſelves, but either better terms of Union and Alliance, or a returning back to their ſeparate ſelf-exiſting ſtate.

The moſt conſidering and diſintereſted people reflected back upon their eaſy complying with the Engliſh, and joining with the Revolution, without any conditions made for themſelves with England, as a nation; and plainly ſaid, If they had demanded better terms, they might have had them; ſince their joining at that time, was a thing of ſuch conſequence, and upon which ſo much did depend, that England could not have denied them; and what they had to aſk was ſo reaſonable, that nothing in reaſon could have been objected.

The people who were of this opinion, being ſome of them, at the ſame time, as far from embarking in the wrong intereſt, moved ſtrenuouſly for a treaty with England, to aſcertain the conditions, chiefly reſpecting commerce, on which they were willing to ſettle the crown; but were unanimouſly for refuſing to ſettle it at all, but with ſuch a treaty.

As theſe gentlemen inſiſted upon a treaty with England, in caſe they ſettled the ſucceſſion with them, ſo they conſidered in the next place of limitations, both in caſe of failing of ſuch treaty, or in caſe of its being concluded, in order to preſerve the liberties of the people, and to aſſert the right and power of Parliaments; and one of theſe limitations was, that in caſe the treaty did not ſucceed, then, in the ſettling the crown, it was provided, the ſucceſſor ſhould not be King or Queen of England.

And yet I confeſs it ſeems plain to me, the deſign of theſe people was not againſt having the ſucceſſion ſettled even in conjunction with England, as it now is; and their general behaviour ſince, confirms this opinion,

opinion, beſides the general character of the men themſelves; but their deſign appeared plainly to bring England over to ſuch terms in matters of commerce, as really it appeared Scotland wanted, and as England ought to grant.

'Tis true, a party joined in this, that were againſt any conjunction at all, that were againſt any ſucceſſion but that of King James, and whoſe real deſign was againſt the general correſpondence of the nations, and both ſides had people among them who made uſe of theſe things, further and further to divide the nation.

Nor did they fail of ſucceſs, for this was taken very heinouſly in England, eſpecially by the ignorant kind of people, and they began in England to treat the Scots very coarſely; the writers of the age began to diſcuſs the ſeparate ſovereignties, and exalt the titles of either ſide.

In England, one Doctor Drake writes a preface to an abridgment of the Scots hiſtory, wherein ſpeaking ſomething reflecting upon the freedom and independency of Scotland, the Scots Parliament cauſed it to be burnt by the hangman at Edinburgh. Another Engliſh author writes of the abſolute dominion of the Engliſh Crown over the Crown of Scotland, but he received the juſt puniſhment of being little regarded; another writes of the eaſineſs of reducing Scotland by arms.—Againſt theſe Mr. Anderſon, Hodges, and others, write of the antiquity, freedom, and independency of Scotland, aſſerting it in the face of the world, for which books the Parliament rewarded them publicly.

Thus, on both ſides, the caſe ſtood between the nations; a pen and ink war made a daily noiſe in either kingdom, and this ſerved to exaſperate the people in ſuch a manner, one againſt another, that never have two nations run upon one another in ſuch a manner, and come off without blows.

The heats on both ſides being thus ſtrangely blown up, and the people of either kingdom beginning to run into exceſſes,—juſt in this juncture, as if the nature and neceſſity of the thing had driven both nations to it, the Queen propoſes to the reſpective Parliaments a treaty of Union to be begun between the two kingdoms; this was in the year 1702; the well-wiſhers to the nations peace earneſtly longed for this Union on both ſides; but I cannot ſay that they had equal expectations of it, as times then went.

It was the firſt year of Her Majeſty's reign, and the adminiſtration of things being then in hands in both kingdoms, which her Majeſty afterward thought fit to change, there is not ſo much wonder why this treaty came to nothing.

There had been obſtructions to the deſign in Scotland, where things were yet carried with more jealouſy of the Engliſh Court than afterwards they ſaw reaſon to do; this occaſioned a proteſt from one ſort of gentlemen againſt the Queen's naming the Commiſſioners to treat;—but even the very gentlemen who proteſted, thought fit afterwards to come in to the Union, as it was propoſed, and had no ſmall influence in the ſucceſs of it.

The ſucceſs of the Union, no doubt, depended upon the choice of the perſons appointed to treat, and this depended very much on the repreſentation of the Miniſtry in either nation to the Queen. As to the Miniſtry in Scotland I ſhall ſay nothing, the gentlemen nominated there might perhaps have come into meaſures for a treaty well enough, moſt of the former treaters being the ſame as afterwards finiſhed it;—but the deſign of the Miniſtry in England ſeemed to act upon meaſures not ſo conſiſtent with the true intent and meaning of the treaty as could have been wiſhed.

Again,

Again, the jealouſies on both ſides about church affairs, in reſpect to the Union, were the ground of ſuch difficulties as nobody could ſurmount, and lay as a ſecret mine, with which that party who deſigned to keep the nation divided, were ſure to blow it up at laſt, and therefore knew that all they did till that point was diſcuſſed ſignified nothing; and that whenever they pleaſed to put an end to it, they had an immediate opportunity.

Without therefore entering upon ſuch juſt reflections as I might very well be allowed to make upon the ſeveral perſons and parts acting and acted in that, I had almoſt ſaid ſham treaty, I may place the whole miſcarriages of it very juſtly upon this one particular; viz. that the affairs of religion were left to the abſolute determination and appointment of the treaters, and this might have inſtructed any body that this treaty would come to nothing, ſince it was morally impracticable that the nice article of religion, as it particularly then ſtood between the two churches, could have been ſettled to the mutual ſatisfaction of both kingdoms by a Commiſſion, in which there was not one perſon deputed or named by the church, or inſtructed by them to enter upon the ſeveral articles of a treaty on either hand.

I know it has been ſaid, and perhaps there may have been ſome truth in it, that the article of religion was to have laid paſſive and dormant, and neither ſide was to have concerned themſelves about it, by which ſome would have it underſtood, that either ſide was to remain in the condition they were then in,—and that this was the meaning of the words of a certain perſon, who when he was aſked, what care was taken of the church in that treaty, replied, "for God's ſake, let us have no more of that jar-"gon"

I confeſs, it is a charitable conſtruction of the words, to ſay, the author only meant that things ſhould

be

be left to ſtand as they were, and the treaters ſhould have no other concern about it;—bnt I preſume thoſe people hardly conſidered that then the eſtabliſhment of either church had been left intirely to the future diſpoſition of a Britiſh Parliament, who, whenever they were governed by a majority on this or that ſide, might have overwhelmed intirely the Scots ſettlement, and erected epiſcopacy upon them, or *vice verſa* with the church of England: And I preſume neither church would have thought themſelves ſafe upon ſuch a foundation; I am ſure, they would not have had reaſon to have thought ſo.

Such a precarious Union muſt needs have begot future convulſions in both kingdoms; and if we may judge by what has happened ſince, the treaters would have met with but very ordinary reception in Scotland when they came home; and the abandoning the church to the mercy of the Parliament, which was in effect, giving her up to the church of England, would certainly have inflamed the whole country.

It is therefore the much kinder reflection to ſay theſe gentlemen never deſigned any Union at all, ſince to ſuppoſe the other, would be to ſuggeſt that they deſigned to give up their native country to a bondage in matters religious, which they knew was intolerable to their country, and to lead them by the hand to an inevitable breach between the nations.

For this reaſon I ſay, that treaty was never ſincerely deſigned; if it was, it muſt reflect either upon the underſtandings, or upon the integrity of the perſons concerned.

Upon the breaking up of this treaty, three things happened to the further widening the unhappy breaches between the nations, which however they diſcovered the furious temper of a party of men in both kingdoms, ready and forward to inflame us, and involve both nations in blood, yet their

their evil design had this happy issue, that it brought the nations to the crisis which inevitably brought on the great treaty; it put us all into such a condition, that nothing but a treaty for a nearer Union, or a bloody and irreconcilable rupture, could be the consequence.—And this I take to be a moving argument, which in the judgment of the Ministry made the treaty of Union absolutely necessary, and thus the greatest good came out of the greatest designed evil.

The first of these was the affair of Captain Green and the ship Worcester. An English ship called the Worcester, of London, Captain Thomas Gteen Commander, homeward-bound from the East-Indies, put into Scotland, whether by contrary winds, or for convoy, or on what other occasion, is not to the purpose.

The African Company there having a ship formerly seized by the East-India Company in London, as she was fitting out in the river of Thames, and for which they had in vain solicited restitution, they obtain of the Government a power to seize and stop this ship by way of repriſal.

Accordingly, the ship was seized on, and brought into Brunt island, and some time passed while the ship lay under such circumstances.

During this time some of the ships crew, whether in their drink, or otherwise, let fall some words, implying that they had been pirating, and particularly some very suspicious discourses, intimating that there had been blood in the case.

This prompted further enquiries, and at last a plain and particular information was procured, that this Captain Green, with this ship Worcester, had met with a Scots ship commanded by one ——— Drummond in the East-Indies, had made a prize of the ship, and murdered Drummond and all his crew.

These

Theſe ſuſpicious and dark ſpeeches were ſo taken hold of, and traced, that at laſt it came upon the ſtage, and brought Green and his ſhips crew into the courſe of public juſtice; and after a very long trial, they were found guilty of piracy, robbery and murder; and particularly the Captain and five more were condemned to die for it, and the Captain with two more were accordingly executed.

It is not the work of this book to relate that ſtory at its full length, but I cannot paſs it here without a ſhort abridgment of the proceedings; becauſe as Scotland lies under much ſcandal on this account, which, as to the methods of public juſtice, I think ſhe does not deſerve; ſo the clearing up that point, and the relation it has to the preſent ſubject I am upon, I think will come out hand in hand; and for that reaſon I engage in it.

Some of Green's men, either in their anger, or their cups, or both, having let fall words that rendered him very much ſuſpected of having been guilty of great villanies, they were further watched in their diſcourſe by ſome that had taken hold of their words, particularly two negroes, one Haines, and another, who, it ſeems, being diſguſted at the Captain, frequently let fall ſuch expreſſions as gave the hearers reaſon to ſuſpect there had been great villanies among them. Theſe ſpeeches are all to be ſeen in the depoſitions of the witneſſes, (too long to repeat here) and particularly in the printed trial, to which I refer.

I ſhall not take upon me here either to condemn or acquit either ſide; I know the world is divided on the ſubject; ſome will have Green and his crew to be guilty of all that is charged on them; others ſay, the company carried all againſt them, that they might have a good pretence for confiſcating the ſhip. But be that as it will, it is moſt certain the folly

folly and imprudence of the men hanged them, to ſay no more.

From a little to more, from dark expreſſions they fell to downright quarrelling, and calling one another names, which there ſeems to be good reaſon to believe, might in part be true on both ſides, for ſome of them, however innocent of this matter, had been, it ſeems, guilty of wickedneſſes of other ſorts, black enough.

This folly of theirs came at laſt to ſuch a height, that it could be no longer concealed, for it became the public diſcourſe, that they had been guilty not of murder and piracy only, but of uncommon barbarities; and not that only, but that it was particularly on a Scots ſhip, and Scots men, viz. Captain Drummond, as aforeſaid.

At length it was brought to the ears of the Government, and as the public juſtice of all nations is obliged to take cognizance of ſuch horrid things as were here ſuggeſted, the fellows were examined, and they frankly confeſſing, Green and five of his men were taken up. The poſitive evidence were only two negroes, but others ſo corroborated what they ſaid, and circumſtances concurring, to make almoſt every body believe the fact, at leaſt in that hurry, they were, upon a long hearing, ſeverally found guilty of piracy and murder.

There are ſometimes ſuch criſis, ſuch junctures in matters, when all things ſhall concur to poſſeſs, not a man, but even a nation, with a belief of what, at another time, they would not believe, even upon the ſame evidence; and, in this man ſeems actuated by a kind of ſupernatural influence, as if inviſibly directed, to bring to paſs ſome particular thing pointed out by Providence to be done, for reaſons of his own, and known only to his inſcrutable wiſdom.

Juſt ſuch a caſe this ſeemed to be; the circumſtances of Green and his crew were very unhappy for

for them; their being put into Scotland, where they had no manner of buſineſs, no diſtreſs to force them in; their being ſeized by the Company, the men's falling out among themſelves, and being the open inſtruments of detecting, what no one ever could have charged them with; their ſtaying there when they might have gone, and had no more buſineſs there, from whence ſome alledge they had no power to depart; theſe, and more concurring circumſtances, which were obſerved by the moſt curious, and ſome of which were noted upon the trial, ſeemed to jump together ſo viſibly, that all people ſeemed to acknowledge a wonderful and inviſible hand in it, directing and pointing out the detecting ſome horrible crime, which vengeance ſuffered not to go unpuniſhed.

Nor was this the ſenſe of a few, but generally ſpeaking of the whole nation, I mean of conſidering people, and ſuch as uſually notice ſuch things, and particularly of many of thoſe who cried out loudeſt of the matter, when it was too late to apply any remedy; in which, I cannot but think, they acted unkindly to their country, and indeed very unjuſtly, ſince, when the conviction of ſuch circumſtances was on the minds of the people, it is no wonder the men were found guilty by the jury; and I perſuade myſelf, they themſelves would have done the ſame.

On their being found guilty, they were not immediately executed, but ſeveral applications were made to England for their reprieve; the Council of Scotland reprieved them for ſome days; and as ſome people began then to object, that the evidence was but too ſlight, and that there was but one witneſs to matter of fact, and that the one witneſs was but a negro, that he was not capable of the impreſſions of the ſolemnity of an oath, that there was malice in it, and the like; on theſe, and on other conſiderations,

rations, the Government was ſo tender of the blood of the men, that ſome have thought they had not died but for the rage of the common people, who, hearing that they were further to be reprieved, got together in an unuſual multitude, on the day appointed for their execution, crying out for juſtice.

And this part of the ſtory is the occaſion of my relating ſo much of it, ſince the tendency it had to inflame the nations one againſt another began here.

On the day appointed for execution, the Privy Council was ſet, and the Magiſtrates of Edinburgh were called to aſſiſt; where the point was debated, whether the condemned perſons ſhould be executed or no? I will not ſay the rabble influenced the Council in their determinations that way; but this is certain, that the diſcontent of the common people was very well known; and that they were furiouſly bent upon ſome violent methods was very much feared; that a vaſt concourſe of people was gathered at that inſtant in the Parliament Cloſe, at the Croſs, at the Priſon, and throughout the whole city; that they publicly threatened the Magiſtrates, and even the Council itſelf, in caſe they were not brought out that day; and ſome talked of pulling down the Tolbooth, which if they had attempted, they would have ſacrificed them in a way more like that of De Witt, than an execution of juſtice.

However, it was the Council determined the matter, that three of them, viz. The Captain, Thomas Green, John Mather, and James Simpſon, who were thought to be principals in the murder, ſhould be put to death that day.

When the Magiſtrates of Edinburgh came out, they aſſured the people that they were ordered to be executed, and that if they would have a little patience, they would ſee them brought out; and this pacified them for the preſent.

Soon

Soon after the Council breaking up, my Lord Chancellor came out, and driving down the ſtreet, in his coach, as he paſſed by the Croſs, ſomebody ſaid aloud, "The Magiſtrates had but cheated "them, and that the Council had reprieved the "criminals:"—This running like wild fire, was ſpread in a moment among the people; immediately they ran in a fury down the ſtreet, after the Chancellor, ſtopped his coach juſt at the Trone-Church, broke the glaſſes, abuſed his ſervants, and forced him out of the coach; ſome friends that were concerned for the hazard he was in, got him into a houſe, ſo that he had no perſonal hurt. It was in vain for his Lordſhip to proteſt to them, that the men were ordered to be executed; they were then paſt hearing of any thing, the whole town was in an uproar, and not only the mob of the city, but even from all the adjacent country was come together. Nothing but the blood of the priſoners could appeaſe them; and had not the execution followed immediately, it cannot be expreſſed what miſchief might have happened.

At laſt the priſoners were brought out, and led through the ſtreets down to Leith, the place of execution being by the laws appointed there for crimes committed upon the ſea.—The fury and rage of the people was ſuch, that it is not to be expreſſed; and hardly did they ſuffer them to paſs, or keep their hands off them as they went, but threw a thouſand inſults, taunts, and revilings.—They were at laſt brought to the gibbet, erected at the ſea-mark, and there hanged.

Nor can I forget to note, that no ſooner was the ſacrifice made, and the men dead, but even the ſame rabble, ſo fickle is the multitude, exclaimed at their own madneſs, and openly regretted what they had done, and were ready to tear one another to pieces for the exceſs.

This

This was not acted there with more fury, than it was with the utmoſt indignation reſented in England;—ſtill I am to be underſtood of the common people; for the Government of neither ſide had any reſentment or diſpute, all things having been carried on by legal methods, proceſs, and trial, according to the form of law, and uſage of the country.

But here was new matter for the enemies of both nations to work upon, and too much fewel was thrown into the fire of national contention on both ſides.

In Scotland, it was ſaid, the Court of England would protect them, and they would be pardoned, only becauſe they were Scotſmen that were murdered; and the like.

In England, it was ſaid, the rabble had cried out to hang them, becauſe they were Engliſhmen; that they had ſaid, they wiſhed they could hang the whole nation ſo, and that they inſulted them, as they went to execution, with the name of Engliſh dogs, &c.

Never was ſuch an unfortunate circumſtance to exaſperate the common people on both ſides, and to fill them with irreconcileable averſions that might prepare them for blood; and if in England it had gone a little higher, it would not have been ſafe for a Scotſman to have walked the ſtreets.

Certain it is, that though the men had been innocent, for that was now alledged, yet, as they were condemned by a due courſe of law, tried, and executed by the common form of juſtice in that country, and in the ſame manner by which their own ſubjects were tried and executed; the fault muſt lie in the witneſſes, and the jury that believed them; but there could be no pretence to make it a national quarrel at all.

That

That in England it had been but too frequent to try and condemn innocent men; and that, if evidences ſwore the fact, it might be the misfortune of any innocent man to fall under ſuch a diſaſter. The crime lay in the villany and perjury of witneſſes; but the nation could not be quarrelled on that account.

But ſtill theſe things left a corroded maſs of ill blood in the minds of the people on either ſide; and, as improved by the malicious fomenters of our diviſions, they were very unhappy at that time.

To exaſperate the people yet more, it was reported, that Captain Drummond was yet living, that neither he, nor any of his men, was ever touched by Green or his crew, and ſome ſeamen who landed in England, made affidavit directly contrary to the evidence that hanged them.

I ſhall no farther enter into the merits of the caſe, than ſerves to the matter of national heats: The thing was generally thought to be a haſty execution, but the argument, that it ought to be no ground of a national quarrel prevailed in England, and the reſt of the priſoners in Scotland were reprieved from time to time, and at laſt let go.

In both theſe caſes, the miſchief of tumult and rabbles is to be obſerved, and how eaſy it is to ſet nations on a flame, by the violent fomenting the paſſions and humours of the people, and how much thoſe ſort of men are to be deteſted, who blow the coals of ſtrife and diſſenſion in a nation, prompt the fury of an enraged multitude to fly in one anothers faces, and inſult the laws and Governments of both countries at once.

The end of this account is to make out what I at firſt noted, concerning the cauſes which wrought theſe two nations up to ſuch a neceſſity of an Union, that either it muſt have been an Union or a war; the animoſities on both ſides being raiſed to ſuch a pitch,

a pitch, that they could no longer have remained in the uſual medium of peace. Nor was this unhappy ſtory the leaſt cauſe of the growing averſion between us, which was now come to a very great height.

The fourth head, to which I aſcribe the growing alienation between theſe two kingdoms, was the Act of Security in Scotland.

This act made a great noiſe in the world, and was magnified in England to ſuch a height, that it was looked upon, as in effect, a declaration of war, to commence at the Queen's demiſe; and however deſigned, was effectually made ſo, by what after happened.

The Marquis of Tweeddale was High Commiſſioner to this Parliament, a perſon of extraordinary temper, candor and modeſty.—The matter of the ſucceſſion had in the preceding Parliament been rejected, on this ſuppoſition, that it was not prudent for Scotland to join with England, except ſuch conditions of commerce and navigation were firſt obtained by treaty with England, as were juſt and honourable for Scotland; and abundance of honeſt gentlemen, who were far enough from ſo much as being ſuſpected of favouring the Jacobite intereſt, joined together in this demand; they were willing to come into the ſucceſſion, provided they had ſuch and ſuch conditions, as they thought were reaſonable to be inſiſted on in behalf of Scotland, among which the liberty and freedom of trade to the Engliſh plantations was one.

There were many very learned debates in the preceding Parliament upon that head; great and popular ſpeeches made on the ſubject; and the Act of Security was offered, and voted, but could not then be paſſed, for things began to run high in the Parliament, which occaſioned a receſs.

This

This was taken in England in a moſt heinous manner; and nothing was now talked of there, but the Scots buying arms and ammunition, training and exerciſing their men, and mighty things were ſuggeſted in England, which the Scots might do, and ſometimes which they would do; the printed news-papers gave a moſt formidable journal of the Duke of Athole drawing out his Highlanders, encamping three days with ſeven thouſand men, how armed, how well officered, and the like; another paper told the world of ſixty-thouſand men in Scotland, armed and trained, and ready to take the field.

However abſurd theſe things were, and that wiſer men, who knew the ſtate of Scotland, ſaw there was nothing in it, but what every nation in the world would have done in the like caſe, that it was neither more nor leſs than arming their militia, and putting them into ſome order, which for ſeveral years paſt had been intirely neglected; yet I ſay, however abſurd the ſuggeſtions were, they were improved in England to all manner of extremes, and ſome moſt ridiculous exceſſes were run into, both public and private.

It is no doubt, but as Scotland was acknowledged to be independent, whatever the forward pens of our politicians would have pretended, yet I ſay, being acknowledged independent even by the Engliſh Parliament, it was a very material thing to have her concur in eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion of the crown, on the ſame perſon as England had done.

Two things moved in this affair on the Engliſh ſide:

1. Some would not have it done at all, and therefore were for irritating the Engliſh againſt the Scots, that it might come to a rupture inſtead of a ſettlement; and this, by putting it upon Scotland to declare,

clare, without a previous treaty, which they knew would never be accepted.

2. Others would gladly have had the Scots come into the ſucceſſion, but were willing to have them do it without any conditions, thinking that Scotland ought ſtill be kept low, for fear of their principles, which lead them to be no friends to the Engliſh church eſtabliſhment.

Both theſe cried out, and exclaimed at this Act of Security, and repreſented it to the world, as if the Scots were going actually to ſeparate from England.

There was one clauſe in the Act of Security, which intirely excluded the ſucceſſor to the crown from governing both kingdoms together.

This the enemies of Scotland preſently repreſented in England, as a deſign to reſtore King James, and a great many honeſt people were brought in to believe that the Scots, even the Preſbyterians themſelves, were ſo alienated from England, and ſo obſtinately bent againſt joining with her on any account, that they would never again be under the ſame head, nay, that they would rather league themſelves with France, and reſtore King James, than come to any terms with her. And this was, as it were, confirmed, when the Scots, ſubſequent to theſe things, paſſed an act for trading with France, though, as their circumſtances then ſtood, it was very neceſſary to them.

Nor was this run to any thing leſs in England, and they began to talk loudly there of forcing the Scots to the ſucceſſion, but this was by ſuch as either coveted a breach between the two nations upon any terms, or really did not underſtand what they ſaid. The latter appeared by their printing ſome pieces to prove the right of the Houſe of Hanover to the crown by ſucceſſion; a thing all people, that know any thing of the affairs of Europe,

know it was not the foundation upon which the preſent eſtabliſhment pretends to be built,——but on that much ſafer, and much more divine right of the Engliſh Conſtitution, and Scots alſo, I mean parliamentary limitation.

Things ran very high now in both nations; the meaſures taken in Scotland ſeemed to be very well grounded, and their aim well taken; for either England muſt comply with Scotland, as to ſuch treaties as were reaſonable, or elſe ſhe might have the ſatisfaction to ſee clearly, Scotland by this act was placed in an intire ſeparate ſtate from her; —who ſhe would join with; what prince ſhe would bring in; where ſhe would beſtow her crown, was not to the purpoſe. Two things ſhe had made plain:

1. That ſhe was reſolved to have it wholly in her own hands, to beſtow as ſhe thought fit.

2. That wherever the Engliſh crown was beſtowed, the Scots crown ſhould not, without conditions firſt obtained.

This effectually ſettled and declared the independency of Scotland, and put her into a poſture fit to be treated with, either by England, or by any other nation.

Nor did the apprehenſions which this gave the world of the Scots deſigning to reſtore King James do her any diſſervice; for though nothing is more certain than that the Jacobites, as they are called, conceived great hopes from theſe things, and flattered themſelves exceedingly, that the return of their King, as they called him, would be the effect of all theſe breaches; and therefore fell in heartily with all theſe things; and, as far as poſſible, carried, on the averſion to a ſettlement with England: Yet it is as certain that the gentlemen, who mainly carried on this project, had no more

eye

eye that way, than to the Great Turk; but were ſincerely bent to the proſperity of their country, and the eſtabliſhment, both religious and civil, as fully appeared afterwards, by their heartily purſuing the treaty that followed.

The drift of the whole matter was, the bringing England to terms, bringing the Engliſh nation to a treaty; and though it is confeſt that the proſpect was remote and melancholy, England at the time being averſe to any ſuch thing; yet as theſe gentlemen ſaw there was no other way to redeem Scotland from the diſcouragement ſhe then lay under, with reſpect to the abſence of her Court, the dependence of her gentry and nobility, the limitations and reſtrictions of trade, which, by the Act of Navigation, ſhe was fettered with, and ſeveral diſadvantages her preſent conjunction, which was made without any treaty, laid her under;—therefore they ſtood ſtrictly and reſolutely to their meaſures; and the more the Court in England puſhed at her joining in the ſettlement, and uſed all poſſible means to bring it to paſs; the more averſe they appeared, and the farther they went off from it.

Thus I ſay this Act of Security, being only attempted in the firſt Seſſion of Parliament, was perfected in the next; and every day further and further advances were made ſeemingly to an entire and laſting ſeparation of the kingdoms from one another.

There were other ſteps made to this on both ſides, as to matters of trade, as ſhall appear immediately.

England, who was all this while under a very unhappy conduct, and acted upon quite different foundations from what we have ſeen her happily brought over to ſince, took the worſt meaſures upon the Scots proceedings then, that ever a wiſe people could have taken; for the Engliſh Parliament fit-

ting ſoon after, viz. 1704, the Scots Acts of Security came to be conſidered; and however influenced by a precipitant party, God only knows, they paſſed an act, in my opinion, the moſt impolitic, I had almoſt ſaid unjuſt, that ever paſſed that great aſſembly.

This was that act of Parliament, intitled, *An Act to prevent the miſchiefs ariſing to England from the Act of Security in Scotland.* In which they in a manner declared open war with Scotland, unleſs by the 24th of December, the next year, they ſhould ſettle the crown in the ſame perſon as now ſettled in England; for they appointed twenty-four men of war to be fitted out, to prevent the Scots trading with France; declared the Scots in England aliens, and ſeveral other articles, as in the act itſelf may more at large appear.

This was done in that famous Parliament called, *The Tacking Parliament*, and it was the leſs to be wondered at, becauſe, (which is the ſubject I am at preſent upon,) the heats between the nations, which were at this time improved by the parties on both ſides, were riſen to a very great height; all things tended to exaſperations and provocations; no man of temper ſeemed to ſhew himſelf on either hand; and thoſe who bore the leaſt regard to the general good of both kingdoms foreſaw nothing but an unavoidable war between us; and indeed had matters ſtood thus but a very little longer, it had been impoſſible to have avoided it, and that in a moſt unſeaſonable time for Europe, which was then engaged in the moſt furious and moſt critical juncture of the war with France, being the year before the battle at Blenheim.

Thus the party in Scotland, who had laid their ſcheme, in hopes that England would have come into meaſures for the general good, ſaw themſelves diſappointed; and though it is true that, had England

land then ſeen with the eyes of her national underſtanding, and had ſhe not been ridden by a party, who openly purſued the ruin of her very Conſtitution, I mean as eſtabliſhed on the Revolution principle; I ſay, had ſhe not been under that unhappy influence, ſhe had taken other meaſures; yet, as it was, nothing was to be expected.

However, the gentlemen in Scotland happily reſolved to wait for the iſſue of things, and firmly adhered to their new ſcheme. Scotland began to be talked up in the world a little; and theſe very enemies, who, as they thought, wounded her, by talking up the mighty formidable things this Act of Security might produce, really raiſed her reputation; nothing was more abſurd than their alarming England at the chimeras of their own heads; ſuch as Scotland buying 30,000 ſtand of arms in Holland; laying in 10,000 barrels of powder; arming 60,000 men, and the like. All which, in reality, was nothing at all but muſtering their trained bands, as they call them in England, and buying about 500 barrels of powder for the Caſtle of Edinburgh. In their alarming England, I ſay, at theſe mighty things, they really raiſed the reputation of Scotland in the world, and made her begin to make a different figure in the eyes of other nations; and, there is no doubt, had things gone on to a rupture, as wicked men on both ſides wiſhed, and good men began to fear, Scotland might have found ſome powerful princes willing to have accepted her crown, and to have in the mean time ſupported, ſupplied, and encouraged her to ſtand upon her own feet.

But I ſhall do the gentlemen who managed this affair this juſtice, that I believe they had it not at all in their deſign, to fly to the protection of any foreign power, no, not to any Proteſtant power in Europe, unleſs forced to it by the precipitant meaſures

meaſures England was then in all probability going into; and, if they had done it then, I can not ſee how they could have been blamed.—But as to the preſent ſtate of things, the gentlemen who managed this part ſeemed to me always to aim at obliging England to give them good terms, and to put themſelves in ſuch a poſture in the world, as ſhould make England ſee it was worth their while to do ſo, as well as that they ought to do ſo. And this was ſo juſt a ſtep, and the aim ſo well taken, as by the conſequence appeared, that, I think, it is the greateſt panegyric that can be made on theſe gentlemen, to ſay, they brought to paſs by it all the great things which God, in his providence, has thought fit to do towards our peace and happineſs in this iſland.

If they did not deſign this, or had not this honeſt aim in view, they leſs deſerve the praiſe; but it is evident, Providence made their meaſures inſtrumental to bring it to paſs.

Thus ſtood the affairs of this iſland, at the end of the year 1705, when the averſions between the two kingdoms, by the ſeveral ſteps I have noticed, was come to a great height; the people ſeemed exaſperated againſt one another to the higheſt degree; the Governments ſeemed bent to act counter to one another in all their Councils; trade claſhed between them in all its circumſtances, and every Parliament run further and further into the moſt diſobliging things that could be: England laid a new impoſt upon Scots cloth; Scotland prohibited all the Engliſh woollen manufacture in general, and erected manufactories among themſelves, which, had they been prudently managed too, might have been very advantageous to them; but of that by the way. Scotland freely and openly exported their wool to France, Germany and Sweden, to the irreparable loſs of the Engliſh manufactures, having

having great quantities of Engliſh wool brought into Scotland over the borders, which it was impoſſible for England to prevent; ſo that the famous trade for wool to France, by Romney Marſh, commonly called Owling, was entirely dropped, and France not ſupplied only, but glutted with wool.

On the other hand, England was proceeding to prohibit the importation of Scots cattle, and to interrupt by force their trade with France; and had this laſt proceeded to practice, all the world could not have prevented a war between both nations.

But more prudent counſels prevailed, and God's providence unravelled all theſe ſchemes of deſtruction, which madmen had drawn for the ruin of their native country; and as many times things evil in their deſign, are overuled by an inviſible hand, and bring to paſs that very good, which they were prepared to deſtroy, even ſo it was here; for theſe confuſions were the very things that brought both the nations to their ſenſes, I mean, brought them both to better temper; the conſequences of a bloody war juſt breaking out in the bowels of their native country, in the ruin and certain deſolation of which they muſt neceſſarily have a great ſhare, opened the eyes of the moſt thinking people on both ſides, even of thoſe who in themſelves had no real inclination to the conjunction of the kingdoms, and thus the neceſſity of taking new meaſures began to appear both ways.

In England, the weight of the preſent war, which every day rather increaſed than decreaſed; in Scotland, their declining condition, and diſunited circumſtances; in England, the matter of ſecurity; in Scotland, the proſpect of advantage, all concurred to ſway the inclinations of wiſe men to heal theſe breaches.

I have now ſhewn by what ſteps theſe two nations were brought to the very brink of mutual deſtruction,

ſtruction, and the ſequel of the ſtory will tell any body who were the parties that prompted both nations to theſe unhappy extremes: I ſhall in the next place a little examine how all this tide of miſchief and folly turned, and how they began to come to themſelves in both kingdoms, and this will ſo naturally lead us to the hiſtory of the Union, that I cannot think of a more proper introduction.

The party in England who had the reins of the adminiſtration in their hands, had given other teſtimonies than this of their precipitant meaſures; and as they had made not this nation only uneaſy, but their own too, ſo, as things generally take new turns, when they come to extremes, the Engliſh nation began to be alarmed at the proceedings, as tending to the ſubverſion of all the fabric of Government erected by the Revolution.

The occaſion of all this is too long to relate here; and the hiſtory of the tacking the Occaſional Bill to the Money Bill in that Parliament in England, is too well known to need any recital. It is enough to ſay here, that puſhing at ſuch hot meaſures in England, as is uſual in all precipitations, like an axe ſtruck upon a hard ſtone, the blow rebounded, and the weapon flew out of the hand of the unſkilful workman; the project failed, the party overthrew themſelves, and never recovered.

The Queen, far from approving the extravagancies they were running things to, and awakened by the danger of her people's liberties, which were as dear to herſelf as to them, finding to what miſchiefs theſe warm gentlemen were leading her, and being by the goodneſs of her diſpoſition, as well as experience in the Engliſh affairs, particularly averſe to things hard or ſevere upon her people, much more ſo to all manner of illegal ſeverities, put a full ſtop to this career of miſchief. And though indeed they had

had brought things to the very edge of deſtruction, both in England on their own buſineſs, as well as in the affairs of the two kingdoms; yet the Queen immediately ſhifting hands, and applying with her uſual wiſdom to the eſtabliſhing the minds of her people, retrieved this whole affair, reſtored England to the tranquillity ſo much deſired, filled up her Miniſtry and all offices of truſt, with men of the ſame candour and moderation with herſelf, openly abandoned and diſcouraged the meaſures of thoſe people who had run things to ſuch exceſſes, and reſettled the minds of her people, diſtracted with apprehenſions of ruin and party-confuſion.

Thus the Miniſtry in England was intirely changed, the Lord Keeper, Sir Nathan Wright, depoſed; Sir Edward Seymour, Comptroller of the Houſehold, put out of her family; the Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of State, and ſeveral others, laid aſide; the props of the high flying party, as they were called, were left out of the Council, and removed from their places in the Government.

In the ſeveral counties the people's approbation of her Majeſty's proceedings, and their joy at this change of inſtruments, was teſtified by the univerſal contempt put upon the affair of the tacking, and of the Occaſional Bill, as well as of all hot men and hot meaſures; and this teſtified by the change in their elections of Parliament men, a new Parliament being then to be choſen, in which ſo general an averſion to the Occaſional Bill, or any thing invading the toleration, and particularly to the affair of the tack, appeared, that in ſpight of all oppoſitions, a great number of the tacking members were thrown out, and ſuch a change of men appeared in the next Parliament, that whereas in the other Parliament the high-party had a majority of ſixty-two, or thereabout, for every thing they joined in; on the firſt trial of the ſtrength of the Houſe, which

was

was perhaps the greateſt that has been known of late years, it appeared the whig-party had the majority by above ſeventy voices; and theſe, by the turning out ſeveral on the trials of elections, and other circumſtances, roſe up to be above a hundred; though after they ſeemed to loſe ſome ground again, but it did not laſt.

Things being thus happily turned in England, and the firſt ſtep for the eſtabliſhing and ſettling this new party in their ſeats of management taken, it was wonderful to ſee the change it made in all the affairs of the nation, how every thing ſucceeded, unheard of victories abroad, unuſual cheerfulneſs at home, and a new face of proſperity ſeemed to gild the affairs of the nation; the feuds of parties died in every place; peace, union, and temper, began to be the companion of every ſociety; and the ancient animoſities between neighbour and neighbour, between friend and friend, which formerly crept, not into ſociety only, but even into our families, and our very beds, declined apace; the Queen encouraged peace and love, and unity among her people, and preſſed the nation to it upon all occaſions, and all good men began to encourage it by their examples.

In this general felicity of affairs in England, Scotland came into remembrance; her Majeſty, as having an equal regard to the good of all her ſubjects, and as being juſtly concerned, not for the change of the temper and condition of her people only, but for the continuance of it to them in ages to come, could not but be ſolicitous for the removing the obſtructions which lay in the way on either ſide.

When the wiſeſt heads in both nations had been conſulted with on this article, though opinions differed, yet no medium could ever be found ſo effectual to ſecure this peace, and remove all poſſibility

lity of a fracture, like the renewing the Treaty of Union.

And thus I am brought down to the general article of the treaty, by the mere thread of the ſtory; the feuds of parties, the folly of ſtateſmen, the fury of rabbles, and the general reviving of the old animoſities between the people, had been ſcrewed up to a dangerous height, as is noted already, by that very party who had on all occaſions ſhewn themſelves enemies to the preſent eſtabliſhment, and future peace even of both nations; and by this method they thought they had rendered the ſucceſſion to both crowns impracticable for the Houſe of Hanover, and ſecured an inevitable rupture between the nations whenever it ſhould pleaſe God to remove her Majeſty out of this world.

But great are the wonders of inſcrutable Providence; theſe very ſchemes, contrived in the deeps of infernal malice, brooded on by that party who ever envied the liberty of Proteſtants, and the tranquillity as well as privileges enjoyed by the people of this whole iſland, and hatched by the warm influence of a reigning party, by which they flattered themſelves, they had effectually overthrown the project of an Union of the kingdoms, made their coalition impoſſible, and all ſchemes projected for it impracticable; I ſay, theſe very things made way for that ſame Union, they were calculated to deſtroy.

The height thoſe meaſures I have been ſpeaking of was brought to, made, as it were, a force upon both nations to come to this treaty.

It was now but a few months to come, when the nations muſt directly fall out; Engliſh men of war muſt be fitted out to cruize upon the Scots, and we that conſented, or at leaſt did not ſcruple to have the Dutch carry on a free trade with France, muſt go and fight with our own brethren for it; whereas

as, had we been in our trading ſenſes, we would have done it ourſelves.

The criſis things were come to now, was ſuch, that they could no longer ſtand at a ſtay, but we muſt fall out with the Scots, or unite with them; all methods to bring them to ſettle the ſucceſſion without a treaty had been in vain uſed by the party before, who would gladly have tricked them into it, but the Scots were too wiſe to fall into that ſnare.

The preſent Miniſtry were for fairer dealings with them, at the ſame time wiſely concluding, that to gain of the Scots what they ought to grant, it was reaſonable to grant to the Scots what they ought to have; and that a treaty with them might be made effectual, the only way was to ſet about it upon an honeſt foot, and then purſue it ſincerely, and not upon ſharping and tricking on either ſide, as before.

But there yet ſeemed to lie one invincible obſtruction in the way of this treaty, and that was the act of Parliament paſſed in England the laſt ſeſſion, which, as before noted, had declared a kind of war againſt the Scots, in caſe they did not come into the ſucceſſion by ſuch a day; and upon the firſt motion to a treaty, the Scots declared they could not enter into any treaty with England till that act was repealed.

This had indeed a great deal of reaſon in it, and ſuch as could not be withſtood, for the honour of the Scots ſeemed very much impaired in that act, and that they could not come to a treaty upon equal terms while ſuch a law ſtood in force upon them, which ſeemed as if it had been a ſword over their heads drawn to awe them into a treaty.

The Queen, who was reſolved, if poſſible, to bring this great event to paſs, and who ſtrove to do it ſo, as might give all her ſubjects ſatisfaction, undertook

dertook to clear up this difficulty; and at the next Parliament which met in England, Octob. 23, 1705, in her ſpeech to both Houſes, recommended the taking away of this obſtruction, by repealing that act, in order to introduce a treaty of Union, which her Majeſty ſaw now more clearly in view than ever before.

I know there were ſtrong ſtruggles in England againſt repealing this act, and that chiefly without doors, the party foreſeeing, that if this ſtep was taken in Parliament, the Union which they really dreaded, would of courſe come upon the ſtage; to this end it was repreſented as diſhonourable to make ſuch an advance to the Scots: That it was an inſulting of England to have the Scots ſay, they would not treat with her till ſuch and ſuch conditions were performed;—that this was letting the Scots preſcribe preliminaries upon England, and if England complied, it would make them more encroaching.

But the temper in the Parliament was quite different from this; it was plain there that the Scots were in the right to aſk this as a preliminary; that the treaty would for ever be ſubject to this objection; that it was not free, but done under the terror or force of that act of Parliament; that, as it was not honourable for the Scots to have a treaty forced upon them under ſuch circumſtances; ſo neither was it honourable for England to force a treaty upon them: that the act was unreaſonable in its own nature; that England could have no pretence but mere violence to intermeddle with the Scots commerce, who were a free nation, and ought to be at liberty to trade with any nation that they thought fit to trade with; that their trade with France was done by their own act of Parliament paſſed by the Queen, and was not inconſiſtent with, or contravening any treaty or contract with England;

land; that Scotland was under no treaty of commerce, or under no obligation to trade, or not to trade as England did. That as to the confederacy, and the war in which they were embarked with England, that laid them under no obligation, ſince the Dutch were in the ſame confederacy, and yet openly proclaimed a free trade with France; nor did the Engliſh pretend to obſtruct them in it; that Scotland was as independent of the Engliſh Government as the Dutch, and ought to be at liberty to trade unmoleſted as well as they.

Theſe arguments, backed with an Adminiſtration of government now quite recovered from the tyrannical principles of thoſe formerly in power, ſoon influenced the Parliament to repeal the act, and take this ſtep by way of advance to the Scots, by which they let the Scots ſee they were in the hands of their friends, that now they might expect fair dealings, and had room to treat with freedom and honour.

This was a great mortification to thoſe gentlemen who had promoted that act, who now, together with their whole party, ſet themſelves with all their artifice to oppoſe the treaty in all its parts in both kingdoms; to raiſe ſcruples, imprint jealouſies, miſrepreſent perſons and things, embroil councils, raiſe ſcandals; and, in ſhort, to do every manner of thing they could to embarraſs and obſtruct the treaty; and in the firſt place to prejudice the minds of the common people againſt the Union as ſuch. What fatal ſucceſs they had; how they carried it on, even beyond the concluſion of the treaty; with what difficulties it was encountered; how begun, how carried on, how finiſhed, and how ſince aſſaulted, and with difficulty enough preſerved, will be the ſubject of the enſuing ſheets.

THE

OF THE

LAST TREATY,

PROPERLY CALLED

THE UNION.

OF THE TREATY IN LONDON.

I AM now come to the great and capital treaty, which has at laſt, by the bleſſing of God, been brought to a happy concluſion.

I am not inſenſible that, in the ſtrange variety of circumſtances, changes of proſpects, the turns of management, the accidents and niceties, with which it has been carried on, the infinite difficulties the zealous promoters of it met with, the reſtleſs attacks of a ſtrong party to diſappoint it, who never gave over their ſtruggle; no, not even after it was done: In this labyrinth of untrod paths, I may eaſily miſplace ſome things, and omit others; and I cannot but introduce my account of it with this caution, that, though I believe no man can have collected with more care, nor has had the opportunity to remark things with more advantage, having been eye witneſs to much of the general tranſaction, and furniſhed, by the beſt hands, with every moſt ſecret affair in the carrying it on; yet many minute things may have paſſed my pen, which it is impoſſible for me to atone for, but by making this proviſo, that the reader may be aſſured nothing material can have ſlipped me; and I have uſed all neceſſary caution to furniſh myſelf with the whole truth of fact, whatever omiſſion of circumſtances I may make an apology for.

Her Majeſty underſtanding the true reaſons of the diſappointment of the former treaty, which it was thought lay in the perſons treating, particularly on the Engliſh ſide, whoſe diſpoſition to finiſh it for the public good, it was ſuppoſed, did not appear at all to her ſatisfaction, obtained a new act of Parliament in England, and the like in Scotland, impowering the Queen to appoint Commiſſioners on either hand, to treat of an Union between the two nations.

And here it is neceſſary to obſerve, how well the ground-plot of this work was laid, that all obſtacles might be removed, which might threaten it with another abortion. It had been noted, that the moſt dangerous rock of difference, on which this Union could ſplit, and which could now render it ineffectual, was that of religion: Here it was certain they could never unite, and the breach therefore being irreconcileable, the beſt courſe that could be taken with it, was to let it quite alone, as a thing neither ſide ſhould meddle with at all, and conſequently the jealouſies and ſuſpicions on both ſides muſt vaniſh, and the great obſtructions which the enemies of the treaty relied on for its miſcarriage were at once removed.

This was a maſter-piece of policy, and ſhewed that her Majeſty had other perſons to conſult with, and had taken other meaſures than before; and gave people very early impreſſions of the ſucceſs which has ſince appeared.

But there was yet ſome political difficulty to paſs; and here, being to tread truth almoſt on the heels, thoſe readers that are willing to have it told plaineſt muſt excuſe me for naming people's names. I have avoided, on all occaſions, the mixing ſatire and reflection in this relation, as much as poſſible.

The political difficulties I ſpeak of here, and which I think gave the greateſt ſhock to this affair, conſiſt of two parts,

1. Succeſſion. 2. Nobility.

The

The vehemence with which the ſeveral parties, who managed theſe topics, acted their reſpective and exceedingly remote proſpects; and by what ſtrange myſtery concurring Providence, like the wheel within all their wheels, centered them all, in uniting the nations, as it is a ſecret hiſtory few underſtood, and may be as neceſſary as diverting; ſo the heads of it may be viewed in the following ſcheme.

1. The Succeſſion being the main thing that lay at the bottom of every one's project, I ſhall firſt ſpeak to the particulars of that.

There was a party in both kingdoms, but moſt powerful in Scotland, whoſe deſign was principally and directly againſt the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, as ſuch; theſe we muſt allow to be ſetting every wheel at work, and acting with all their power and policy againſt every thing which looked that way.

When they ſaw it convenient, they acted againſt an Union in its general term, and frequently ſome of the leſs politic of that party let fall the excreſence of their principles, in direct terms, and pamphlets were wrote upon that ſcheme; ſuch as one ſhewing the neceſſities of a war with England, &c. another ſhewing the advantages of an Union with other nations, and France in particular; others argued continually the mighty terms, and the advantages of commerce, Scotland might obtain from France; and not only propoſed them as equivalent to the trade with England, but run on to ſuch weak extremes, as to ſay, that Scotland made no advantage of her commerce with England.

But theſe may well be ſaid to be the leſs politic part of theſe gentlemen, who were in the deſign above; for they loſt ground, even againſt the Union itſelf, by it; and when the Committee of Parliament, appointed to examine the exports and imports, reported, That Scotland exported to England above 200,000 pounds ſterling per annum, in linen, cattle, &c. the imports from thence appeared ſo

ſmall, that the objectors dropped their arguments upon that head; and learned to talk with more caution.

But the more ſubtile managers of this deſign againſt the ſucceſſion, went on by different meaſures, and with great policy they acted every party, as far as they thought they could be brought in to be ſubſervient to their deſign.

Thus firſt ſeeming to quit their direct oppoſition to the ſucceſſion, as a thing too open, and too much claſhing with the temper of the time, they fall in with that party, who were for the ſucceſſion with limitations; not that they would have concurred with the event, had theſe limitations been never ſo great, but that, in their debating the limitations, they might find room to clog the ſucceſſion itſelf, in ſuch manner as the other party could by no means accept of it.

From the ſame principle proceeded that famous reſolve in their Act of Security, by which the ſucceſſion met with two invincible obſtacles, from whence they knew, ſome time or other, new diſputes muſt ariſe, 1. That no ſucceſſor at all ſhould be named, till after the Queen. 2. That when it was named, it ſhould be with this limitation, that it ſhould not be the ſame that ſhould ſucceed to the kingdom of England.

This was a maſter-piece of policy, and had the moſt ſpecious pretence in the world, viz. The hardſhips which Scotland had ſuffered under the influence of England in matters of commerce and ſovereignty; and therefore it was added immediately upon the ſaid clauſe, "Unleſs that in this preſent Seſſion "of Parliament, or any other Seſſion of this, or "any enſuing Parliament, there be ſuch conditions "of government ſettled and enacted, as may ſecure "the honour and ſovereignty of this crown and "kingdom; the freedom, frequency and power of "Parliament; the religion, liberty and trade of the "nation from Engliſh, or any foreign influence."

The

The running things to this height in Scotland, put every party's meaſures to a full ſtop; the gentlemen who were againſt the ſucceſſion in general, and of whom I am now treating, had moſt effectually carried their point; for as they preſumed England could never come in to ſuch a treaty as they demanded, ſo they had effectually forecloſed the ſucceſſion of Hanover, by determining, that the ſucceſſor of England and Scotland ſhould not be the ſame.

And it is remarkable to note here, how univerſally all thoſe gentlemen, whoſe aim was againſt the ſucceſſion, fell in with thoſe whoſe deſign was only to have advantageous terms from England for it.

But this very point gained, brought about the main work; and the contraries that concurred in this act, though from claſhing intereſts, by the ſtrange circulation of cauſes, worked all together into another extreme, which none of them deſigned, and that was the Union.

Upon the paſſing the Act of Security, England grew very uneaſy; and not to mention the common apprehenſions of the people, nor how, and by whom they were encreaſed and fomented, the act of Parliament paſſed, intituled, "An Act to prevent the "dangers ariſing from the Act of Security in Scot-"land, &c." is a demonſtration of what the tendency of theſe things would be; and brought both nations under the neceſſity of a war by the Chriſtmas following; the Engliſh being then obliged to fit out a fleet, to interrupt the Scots commerce, if their Act of Security was not repealed.

Things being brought to this extremity, the only remedy that thoſe who wiſhed well to both nations could contrive, was to revive a treaty of Union, and ſet heartily about it,—and the firſt ſtep the Queen took towards it, was to propoſe it to the Scots Parliament, who voted,—that they could enter into no treaty of Union, till that Act of Parliament mentioned above was repealed in England.

Though

Though this was a very bold reſolve, yet the Queen, who ſaw ſome reaſonableneſs in it, managed things with ſo much wiſdom and moderation; and the Parliament, who ſaw with differing eyes from the other, and was of a quite differing temper, found ſomething ſo ſevere and ſo hard upon Scotland in that Act of Parliament, that they made no difficulty to make that ſtep in advance to Scotland.

Upon this foot turned the firſt appearance of the Union; now let us ſee how the parties managed themſelves on all ſides.

The inclination on both ſides to an Union, however afterwards managed, ſeemed ſo univerſal, that the party I am ſpeaking of, thought it was not proper to appear againſt it directly; but acting ſtill under diſguiſe, they puzzled the cauſe, firſt, with the wild debate of a federal Union, or an Union partial and imperfect; and thus they fell in with the party who were for the Union, not that they had the Union in their deſign, but becauſe they thought the thing impracticable in itſelf; that it would make the people ſceptic in Government; and that ſo it would certainly miſcarry, and the ſucceſſion would be loſt that way.

Accordingly the limitations were by ſecret influence oppoſed, and the ſcheme of ſucceſſion laid aſide to go upon the chimera of an Union, as they thought it to be; and I could be very merry with ſome gentlemen here, upon the banters and jeſts they always treated the ſcheme of an Union with, as a thing they little thought would ever be licked into any ſhape, or ever obtain upon the nations to paſs into a law.

Thus I have brought the remoteſt party, who were downright enemies of the Union, to fall into it; from whence, let their deſign be what it will, I muſt tell them, they did it this ſervice, that it made the Union very popular, however it came to be otherways afterward.

I come

I come next to the difficulty about nobility, and this worked in to an Union, by, as it were, a natural conſequence; for the antient nobility finding their ſway with the people leſſened, and their power, as well as their honour, eclipſed by the crown daily creating numbers of what they called upſtart Lords, were eaſily engaged in limitations, to prevent their future Monarch's encreaſing the numbers of their rank, to the diminution, as they took it, of the antient families.

But when they came to conſider the ſcheme of diſtinction made for the repreſenting the nobility in a Britiſh Parliament, they were the more eaſily brought into the Union, as an effectual ſtep to prevent the reducing their honour, by multiplying their numbers, and as a thing which would ſeem to diſtinguiſh them from ſuch of the modern nobility, which they reckoned already a burthen to them.

Next, amongſt the Whig intereſt, and who were really honeſt in their deſigns for the general good, were yet two parties.

One party, without reflection on any, had taken a juſt umbrage at the growing power of a certain great man; and as they had reaſon to ward off perſonal reſentments, in caſe their figure was diminiſhed; and having their true intereſt in view, together with the public good, eſteemed it their good fortune, to have them both ſtand upon one bottom; and theſe gentlemen came heartily and honeſtly into the meaſures of the Union.

Another party were for the ſucceſſion limited, &c. but not for the Union; theſe brought the former firſt to them, thinking they would rather be for the ſucceſſion, and lay by the thoughts of the Union; but finding them intirely for the Union, they fell in together.

The view of the Court in England was plain, viz. For the ſucceſſion at any rate; and therefore, till this juncture, they had eſpouſed that party in Scotland,

land, who were for the ſucceſſion, though with limitations; and this the more eaſily brought thoſe gentlemen into the Union, ſince there they ſecured the ſucceſſion, and had the Engliſh limitations confirmed, which they knew and acknowledged were better than their own.

Thus the two Whig parties joined, and the Duke of Queenſbury, who had, in concert with her Majeſty and the Engliſh court, removed all the ſeeming difficulties on the part of Scotland, appearing publicly for it, the Union, as I have already noted, grew very popular; the Court and the Whig Lords concurred in the general good, the Jacobite intereſt was abandoned, and the Union grew up between all the extremes as a conſequence; and it was merely formed by the nature of things, rather than by the deſigns of the parties.

Things being brought to this paſs, the acts of Parliament paſſed, and the Queen impowered to name Commiſſioners; I ſhall purſue the proceedings in order as they lie before me, and make the needful obſervations as I go.

They that had ſo wiſely contrived the beginning of this work, could not be at a loſs to find out proper perſons for the managing the treaty in both kingdoms; and therefore it was not long before her Majeſty named the Commiſſioners for both kingdoms, whoſe names we ſhall preſently come to.

I ſhall not deſcend to encomiums on the perſons of the treaters, for I am not about to write panegyrics here, but an impartial and unbiaſſed hiſtory of fact. But ſince the gentlemen have been ill treated, eſpecially in Scotland, upon this very head, charged with ſtrange things, and expoſed in print by ſome who had nothing but their averſion to the treaty to move them to maltreat them; I muſt be allowed on all occaſions to do them juſtice in the proceſs of this ſtory. And as I muſt own, that, generally

generally ſpeaking, they were perſons of the greateſt probity, the beſt characters, and the ſteadieſt adherence to the true intereſt of their country, ſo their abilities will appear in every ſtep taken in ſo great a work; the bringing it to ſo ſhort a concluſion, and that in ſo little time; the reducing it to ſo conciſe a form, and ſo fixing it, that, when all the obſtruction imaginable was made to it afterwards in the Parliament of Scotland, the mountains of objection, which at firſt amuſed the world, proved ſuch mole hills, were ſo eaſily removed, raiſed ſo much noiſe, and amounted to ſo little in ſubſtance, that after all was granted that in reaſon could be demanded, the amendments were ſo few, and of ſo little weight, that there was not one thing material enough to obtain a negative in the Engliſh Parliament.

I cannot but obſerve here, that even thoſe amendments were not made by reaſon of any omiſſion in the treaters; but the Parliament found the oppoſing party to the ſucceſſion had two handles to lay hold on in Scotland, and therefore in prudence gave way to ſuch amendments as they had the leaſt reaſon to juſtify. Theſe two heads, which I call handles, againſt the ſucceſſion, were,

1. Strength of party, by which they hoped to carry it at once, and throw out the treaty *brevi manu*; and this they endeavoured to form upon a general diſlike, they having blackened it with the mark of a thing diſhonourable to the ſovereignty and the independence of the nation.

2. If they found that would not do, then to load it with ſuch ridiculous amendments, as they knew would cauſe it to miſcarry in the Engliſh Parliament; which they alſo thought would give Scotland great advantage, and increaſe the animoſities in Scotland againſt the Engliſh, when the rupture ſhould appear to be from England, and the moſt reaſonable conceſſions of Scotland be rejected by them.

But

But both theſe projects failed them; the firſt was effectually anſwered by the nature of the thing, and their ſtrength failing them, they found they had caſt up their account falſe, their motion being thrown out by a great majority in voting the firſt article, as will appear preſently.

The ſecond, when they came to examine particulars, had not ſufficient ſtrength of reaſon to ſupport it; all the amendments they could pretend to were ſo ſmall, that, as above, the Parliament of England never thought it worth their while to diſpute them; and the treaters themſelves, for the moſt part, went into thoſe amendments as they were offered.

Indeed this was a diſappointment to ſome people, who made no queſtion, at leaſt, to puzzle the cauſe, and raiſe ſuch difficulties as ſhould require a remitting the treaty back to Scotland; and ſo ſpin it out in length, that the nations might have leiſure to form the ſeparate parties into ſome order, and raiſing their friends on both ſides, if poſſible, bring it to a breach. And that I do not paſs an unjuſt cenſure, I refer the reader, among infinite pamphlets publiſhed againſt this affair, to one very plain and bare-faced author mentioned before, intituled, "The Neceſſity of a War with England, in order "to cure the preſent Diſtempers of the Times."

I ſhould do the fomenters of the nation's diviſions too much credit to trouble the reader of this with any of their printed oratory againſt this Union, much leſs enter into any diſquiſitions upon the ſubject of their clamours; but I may, perhaps, touch upon the principal heads of their objections, and let the world know alſo who were ſome of the objectors.

When the acts were thus paſſed, and her Majeſty had named Commiſſioners on both ſides, and the work ſeemed to be going about in earneſt, the learned ſcribblers of the age began to haraſs the world with their ſchemes, and all the mountebank ſtateſmen

ſtateſmen of the times ſet to work to propoſe their wondrous methods of curing this ancient diſtemper of the nations, and ſtriving to have it ſaid of themſelves, who was forwardeſt in the great work.

The induſtry they diſcovered, had in nothing a greater concurrence than in this, that the whole crowd of writers, with an univerſal agreement, had the honour to be intirely miſtaken; and not one of them had eyes to ſee to the true intereſt of the nations; every man, as in ſuch caſes is uſual, eyed the reſpective intereſts or advantages, as he thought, of the nation to which he belonged, and ſet himſelf to work to anſwer the objections of the other; defending, arguing, and fatiguing their own heads, and their readers, with the confuſed labyrinths of their own projects; but not once touching the true ſtring, which, with a national uniſon, would have immediately ſounded out the harmony of general peace.

Nor am I at all arrogant in ſaying, they were all ſo generally miſtaken in their notions of what this Union ſhould be, ſince, as I have ſaid, every one fell to arguing the ſingle and ſeparate advantages of the nation they belonged to; inſiſting on their politic notions and wiſe ſchemes for their reſpective advantages; but, not one, that I met with, ever entered into the true and only notion eſſential to the Union; I mean the principle of ſelf-denial; how far either nation was to condeſcend and advance to one another, how the preſent Union conſiſted, not in gaining advantages on either hand of one and other; but in abatements, in giving each other advantages, in yielding up privileges, opening the treaſures and ſtrength of either nation, to the good and benefit of the whole.

They never dreamed, that to unite, was, in itſelf a full and a general retribution for every ſtep taken from one ſide to the other; that a new national intereſt was to be erected; and that giving or conceding

ceding rights, advantages and intereſts, whether in commerce or in privileges, was loſing nothing at all; but was like a man giving preſents to a lady, whom he deſigns to make his wife; which is but taking his money out of one pocket, and putting it into another; or like a man ſettling his eſtate in jointure on his wife, which is ſtill his own, and is effectually ſecured for his poſterity.

The gentlemen muſt pardon me if I tell them, that for want of this true and original notion of Union, they took but too much pains to inform us all, they had neither the ſpirit of Union in their minds, nor the knowledge of it in their heads; and this run them upon wild dilemmas, and dark ſchemes of federations and confederations; this ſent them to Belgia, Helvetia, Polonia, and I know not whither, for examples, for ſchemes, precedents, and I know not what ſtrange ſyſtems of national Unions; all which, I muſt take the liberty to ſay, were as wide from the only ſtep that could make theſe nations happy, as the eaſt is from the weſt, tended to nothing but confuſion of intereſts, national jealouſies, and in the end war and deſtruction.

Theſe gentlemen were for making bargains between the nations, not for bringing two great and mighty kingdoms into one vaſt united body, the ſame in intereſt, the ſame in proſpect, the ſame in every ſubſtantial conſtituting part. The advocates of either people talked like counſellors pleading for their clients, not like two friends that were ſtriving who ſhould part with moſt, for the intereſt and engagement of the love of each other.

In ſhort, the Union has been brought to paſs, not by gaining from, but by yielding to one another; not by making conditions and advantages of one another, but by conceding to one another; one part opens the treaſures of their trade, the other ſtruggles to bear their ſhare of the weight and burden

den of expenſive and bloody wars; this part yields up one thing, that abates another, and mutual condeſcenſions, not mutual encroachments, have brought this work to paſs.

And here lies the great myſtery of the Union; they that think ſtrange of the circumlocutions the wiſeſts heads have taken, may find them here; they that enquire into the reaſons of former miſcarriages, may find them all here. If there was any want of temper; any mutual diſtruſts; any ſecret murmurs of parties; any jealouſies of conſequences; it was all to be found here: That the people who debated theſe points, never looked beyond the preſent ſtate; never conſidered the conjunct capacity of the nations; never drew the balance of intereſts, or ſtated the affairs of both nations into one account current.

Had they ever done this, they would have ſeen that monſter, as they called the Union; a moſt beautiful creature; admirable in its contexture; agreeable in its figure; ſquared like a moſt exquiſite piece of architecture, both for ornament, ſtrength and uſefulneſs: They would have ſeen it a complete circle; all the lines of which were drawn from, and depended upon one general centre—the public good; a mighty arch, every ſtone of which mutually contributed, not to its private ſupport only, but to the ſtrength of the whole. Here is the true original of the Union; and the wiſdom of the treaters on both ſides, was in nothing more conſpicuous, than that they came to this treaty furniſhed with the true notions of what they were to do, and conſequently, the propereſt, and only method for the doing it could not be concealed from them; and we cannot but obſerve, that, through all the courſe of the treaty, the gentlemen kept themſelves cloſe to this principle, to yield to one another in every thing, which the nature of the Union they aimed at required, and the nature of the thing before them would poſſibly permit.

I muſt

I muſt confeſs, to me, all the notions of federal Unions, guarantees, and everlaſting peace, which our ſeveral writers filled our heads with, while the treaty was appointed, but not yet begun, appeared to me as imperfect embrios, falſe conceptions, and births that muſt end in abortions and diſappointments. I will not ſay I had foreſight of events enough to preſcribe what methods ſhould be taken, or what iſſue would be produced from the treaty then in view; but this I took the freedom always to tell the world, that it muſt be a general, compleat, intire and indiſſolvable Union of intereſts and parties, depending upon equalities of privileges, and equalities of burdens; equalities of proſpects, and equalities, if poſſible, in deſires; or that it would be imperfect in its parts, and confuſed in its whole.

I know one reaſon why this ſort of Union was leſs thought on, than perhaps it would have been, was, becauſe the gentlemen, when they came to examine what had ever been attempted this way, found nothing of a full and intire Union, but that under the conqueſt of the Parliament times;—and, alas! ſays one, this muſt be rendered ſo odious, becauſe it was the work of a tyrant, an uſurper, and what not, that nobody could bear to recommend it; and if at any time a man was driven by the neceſſity of his judgment, the convictions of his reaſon, and the conſequences of argument, to come to the borders of that ſcheme, he would ſtart at the hint, as if he had been a ſpectrum, and fly even from his own reaſon, becauſe it concurred with what was hit upon by the man and the people he did not approve.

And why will you go by Whitehall, gentlemen, where ſo many wicked rebels triumphed over their Monarch? Why will you uſe the navy; nay, ſome of the very ſhips, with which the ſame Oliver Cromwell beat your neighbours?

If Oliver had not been a maſter of politics, he had never been Oliver Cromwell in the terms we

are

are now talking of him; and becauſe he hit upon the only ſtep that could be taken to fix the Union of the two nations, muſt we reject it, and rather deſtroy the kingdoms, than cloſe with his unhallowed method?

Reaſon and the nature of things guides all men, whoſe eyes are open, to the ſame methods, when they are purſuing the ſame deſigns; let Oliver Cromwell be what he will, and who he will, it is no part of my buſineſs here; take him in all the blackeſt figures he can be repreſented;—what was the end he purſued in his uniting Scotland to England?—It was ſo to join them, that both parties being made entirely eaſy, might, without heſitation, ſubmit themſelves to his otherwiſe precarious authority. And was he right in this, that, to give the two nations a free and full communication, both of trade, privileges and advantages, was the true and only way to make all people eaſy?—So far his project may be good for us, without ſo much as touching upon the parallel.

The buſineſs of the Union was, to make the nations eaſy, to put them in a ſtate of mutual advantage; if forty tyrants have purſued the method for it, though with wicked deſigns, it was for us to take the method, and mend the deſign, as much as we could.

Oliver Cromwell made a conqueſt of Scotland,—well, and what then?—Let thoſe people, who have talked ſo much of an Union of ſubjection, and conquering Scotland, go back thither for a precedent; Oliver Cromwell knew as well what belonged to conqueſt, as any body in this age will pretend to; nor was he leſs politic in keeping, than terrible in obtaining; and what did he reſolve all his northern conqueſt into?—Nothing but Union, the beſt concerted, the beſt executed, the beſt approved, that ever this iſland ſaw till now; nor could all the heads in Chriſtendom have formed the preſent happy Union, but from the ſchemes of thoſe times.

If

If ever any nation gained by being conquered, it was here; they were ſubdued firſt, and then made happy; and Scotland flouriſhed; juſtice had its uninterrupted courſe; trade increaſed; money plentifully flowed in, and all under what they called tyranny and uſurpation; all under a ſtanding army, Government, and with all the diſadvantages that can be imagined from ſuch a conſtitution, as tended to ſubjection, not liberty; poverty and miſery, not peace and plenty.

And what was the foundation of all this? Nothing but the natural product of common reaſoning; he found that the only way to preſerve the conqueſt he had made on the powers of the nations was to make a conqueſt of their affections; that the only way to do this, was to let them ſee their intereſt and happineſs in his Government; and that this could only be brought to paſs, by uniting and entirely incorporating the nations into one; communicating peace, privileges, and all poſſible advantages to them; and thereby letting them ſee the true way to their proſperity.

No man will ſay this was not the moſt politic ſtep he could take; and muſt we contemn the method, becauſe we cannot be reconciled to the man?—Certainly if Union and incorporation of intereſts was able to make the nation happy, under a ſtanding army, and an abſolute Government as that was (things, in their nature, inconſiſtent with liberty and national proſperity), it muſt be much more capable under a juſt and limited Government, where law governs the very actions of the ſovereign, and all the branches of power are ſquared by, and ſincerely employed for the public good: and it can be no leſſening the value of any true ſcheme of national management, that a perſon uſed or contrived it, that we call a tyrant, or an uſurper.—Let him be ever ſo much a tyrant, he ſhewed he had the true ſpirit of Government in him by this; that he knew the only way

way to make his Government ſafe was to make it eaſy; and to have the people quiet, was to make them happy; and this he did by Union, an intire incorporated Union;—and the event proved his meaſures were rightly taken.

Our end is now the ſame, though our views are differing; to make the people happy is the end:—If Union be the way, why is it to be liked the worſe, becauſe Oliver Cromwell drew the ſcheme?

I have made this digreſſion, not purely to ſhew how our writers came to be miſtaken in their ſchemes, and why they never hit upon this draught in all their propoſals, though that introduced it; but alſo to prove, that this intire incorporating Union has in itſelf the ſeed of national felicity, in that it wrought then that wonder which the world can rarely produce, viz. liberty in tyranny, proſperity in conqueſt, and a nation ſaved even in being ſubdued.

Could it produce this wonderful effect then, much more muſt it be ſuppoſed capable now:—And, I am perſuaded, no man in his ſenſes will like the effect of the preſent Union the worſe, for its receiving any of its parts from the politics of theſe times, if the happineſs of the preſent time may be ſeen in it.

And here I muſt own, that the preſent Union has ſome advantage, though the nations have paid dear for the experiment, in that it has been formed upon the foot of all the moſt politic ſchemes of former times; and all the miſcarriages of former treaties have been as warnings to furniſh the experience of theſe times to make them wary, and inſtruct them how to avoid the rocks that others ſplit on.

I have now brought the treaters to London; when they firſt met, they hardly knew what meaſures they ſhould take; they knew what buſineſs they came to do, but, I dare ſay, the gentlemen will bear with me in ſaying, they could not foreſee the manner and management that followed; and it was a pleaſing

ſurpriſe, to find all ſides and parties to agree, in leaving all politic methods formerly ſtudied, rather to delay and defeat the deſign of an Union than to compleat it; and to fall in heartily to conſider, as the general theſis, what could conduce moſt to the main deſign of their meeting, The Union; and, in order to this, they reſolved not to ſtudy advantages againſt one another; nor to demand, on either ſide, any thing but what was agreeable to both kingdoms, in their united capacity: This was a happy indication that both ſides came together with a true ſpirit of the Union among them; that they ſincerely intended to apply themſelves to it, with the utmoſt diligence, and to purſue it by all the moſt proper methods to bring it to paſs;—the very contrary extreme of which is what, as I have already noted, has been the principal occaſion of the miſcarriage of all the former treaties, and which good men were very much afraid of now.

Before they met in public, ſome of the Commiſſioners on both ſides had a meeting among themſelves, privately to conſider of the method of proceeding.

And here it was firſt debated, in what manner propoſals ſhould be delivered and received; ſome were for having conferences of every thing that ſhould be propoſed, for the convenience of free reaſoning; others objected againſt that as tedious, and offered as the moſt expeditious method, that every thing ſhould be delivered in writing, and then the Commiſſioners, reſpectively meeting apart, might reaſon among themſelves, and give in their reſolutions the more perfect;—and this was agreed on by both parties.

There was but one public conference, which was deſired by the Commiſſioners for Scotland; and this was about the number of the Scots Repreſentatives in Parliament.

THE

THE

ARTICLES OF UNION,

As they were treated on and agreed to at London, on the Twenty Second Day of July, in the Fifth Year of the Reign of her Moſt Excellent Majeſty Anne by the Grace of God Queen of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. and in the Year of our Lord One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Six, by the Commiſſioners nominated on Behalf of the Kingdom of Scotland, bearing Date the Twenty Seventh Day of February laſt paſt; in purſuance of the Fourth Act of the Third Seſſion of Her Majeſty's Current Parliament of Scotland, in the Fourth Year of Her Majeſty's Reign, and the Commiſſioners nominated on the Behalf of the Kingdom of England, under her Majeſty's Great Seal of England, bearing Date at Weſtminſter the Tenth Day of April laſt paſt; in purſuance of an Act of Parliament made in England the Third Year of Her Majeſty's Reign, to treat of and concerning an Union of the ſaid Kingdoms: Which Articles are in all Humility to be preſented to the Queen's Moſt Excellent Majeſty, and offered to the Conſideration of the Reſpective Parliaments of both Kingdoms, purſuant to the ſaid Acts and Commiſſions.

I. THAT the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England ſhall, upon the firſt day of May next enſuing the date hereof, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom by the name of Great Britain; and

and that the enſigns armorial of the ſaid united kingdom be ſuch as her Majeſty ſhall appoint, and the croſſes of St. Andrew and St. George be conjoined in ſuch manner as her Majeſty ſhall think fit, and uſed in all flags, banners, ſtandards, and enſigns, both at ſea and land.

II. That the ſucceſſion to the Monarchy of the united kingdom of Great Britain, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, after her moſt ſacred Majeſty, and in default of iſſue of her Majeſty, be, remain, and continue to the moſt excellent Princeſs Sophia, Electoreſs and Dutcheſs Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Proteſtants, upon whom the Crown of England is ſettled by an Act of Parliament made in England in the twelfth year of the reign of his late Majeſty King William the Third, entitled, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better ſecuring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject:* And that all Papiſts, and perſons marrying Papiſts, ſhall be excluded from, and for ever incapable to inherit, poſſeſs, or enjoy the imperial Crown of Great Britain, and the dominions thereunto belonging, or any part thereof; and in every ſuch caſe, the Crown and Government ſhall from time to time deſcend to, and be enjoyed by ſuch perſon being a Proteſtant, as ſhould have inherited and enjoyed the ſame, in caſe ſuch Papiſts or perſon marrying a Papiſt, was naturally dead, according to the proviſion for the deſcent of the Crown of England, made by another act of Parliament in England, in the firſt year of the reign of their late Majeſties King William and Queen Mary, entitled, *An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown.*

III. That the united kingdom of Great Britain be repreſented by one and the ſame Parliament, to be ſtyled the Parliament of Great Britain.

IV. That

IV. That all the ſubjects of the united kingdom of Great Britain ſhall, from and after the Union, have full freedom and intercourſe of trade and navigation, to and from any port or place within the ſaid united kingdom, and the dominions and plantations thereunto belonging; and that there be a communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, which do, or may belong to the ſubjects of either kingdom, except where it is otherways expreſsly agreed in theſe articles.

V. That all ſhips belonging to her Majeſty's ſubjects of Scotland, at the time of ſigning this treaty for the Union of the two kingdoms, though foreign built, ſhall be deemed and paſs as ſhips of the build of Great Britain, the owner, or where there are more owners, one or more of the owners, within twelve months after the Union, making oath, that at the time of ſigning the ſaid treaty, the ſame did belong to him or them, or to ſome other ſubject or ſubjects of Scotland, to be particularly named, with the places of their reſpective abodes, and that the ſame doth then belong to him or them, and that no foreigner, directly or indirectly, hath any ſhare, part, or intereſt therein: Which oath ſhall be made before the chief officer or officers of the Cuſtoms in the port next to the abode of the ſaid owner or owners; and the ſaid officer or officers ſhall be impowered to adminiſter the ſaid oath; and the oath being ſo adminiſtered, ſhall be atteſted by the officer or officers who adminiſtered the ſame; and being regiſtered by the ſaid officer or officers, ſhall be delivered to the maſter of the ſhip, for ſecurity of her navigation, and a duplicate thereof ſhall be tranſmitted by the ſaid officer or officers to the chief officer or officers of the cuſtoms in the port of Edinburgh, to be there entered in a regiſter, and from thence to be ſent to the port of London, to be there entered in the general

neral regiſter of all trading ſhips belonging to Great Britain.

VI. That all parts of the united kingdom for ever, from and after the Union, ſhall have the ſame allowances and encouragements, and be under the ſame prohibitions, reſtrictions, and regulations of trade, and liable to the ſame cuſtoms and duties on import and export; and that the allowances, encouragements, prohibitions, reſtrictions and regulations of trade, and the cuſtoms and duties on import and export ſettled in England when the Union commences, ſhall, from and after the Union, take place throughout the whole united kingdom.

VII. That all parts of the united kingdom be for ever, from and after the Union, liable to the ſame exciſes upon all exciſeable liquors; and that the exciſe ſettled in England on ſuch liquors, when the Union commences, take place throughout the whole united kingdom.

VIII. That from and after the Union, all foreign ſalt which ſhall be imported into Scotland, ſhall be charged at the importation there, with the ſame duties as the like ſalt is now charged with, being imported into England, and to be levied and ſecured in the ſame manner: But Scotland ſhall, for the ſpace of ſeven years from the ſaid Union, be exempted from the paying in Scotland for ſalt made there, the duty or exciſe now payable for ſalt made in England; but, from the expiration of the ſaid ſeven years, ſhall be ſubject and liable to the ſame duties for ſalt made in Scotland, as ſhall be then payable for ſalt made in England, to be levied and ſecured in the ſame manner, and with the like draw-backs and allowances as in England. And during the ſaid ſeven years, there ſhall be paid in England for all ſalt made in Scotland, and imported from thence into England, the ſame duties upon the importation, as ſhall be payable for ſalt made in England,

England, to be levied and ſecured in the ſame manner as the duties on foreign ſalt are to be levied and ſecured in England: and that, during the ſaid ſeven years, no ſalt whatſoever be brought from Scotland to England by land in any manner, under the penalty of forfeiting the ſalt, and the cattle and carriages made uſe of in bringing the ſame, and paying twenty ſhillings for every buſhel of ſuch ſalt, and proportionably for a greater or leſſer quantity, for which the carrier, as well as the owner, ſhall be liable jointly and ſeverally; and the perſons bringing or carrying the ſame, to be impriſoned by any one juſtice of the peace by the ſpace of ſix months without bail, and until the penalty be paid; and that, during the ſaid ſeven years, all ſalted fleſh or fiſh exported from Scotland to England, or made uſe of for victualling of ſhips in Scotland, and all fleſh put on board in Scotland, to be exported to parts beyond the ſeas, which ſhall be ſalted with Scots ſalt, or any mixture therewith, ſhall be forfeited and may be ſeized; and that from and after the Union, the laws and acts of Parliament in Scotland, for pining, curing, and packing of herrings, white fiſh and ſalmon for exportation, with foreign ſalt only, and for preventing of frauds in curing and packing of fiſh, be continued in force in Scotland, ſubject to ſuch alterations as ſhall be made by the Parliament of Great Britain; and that all fiſh exported from Scotland to parts beyond the ſeas, which ſhall be cured with foreign ſalt only, ſhall have the ſame eaſes, premiums, and drawbacks, as are or ſhall be allowed to ſuch perſons as export the like fiſh from England: and if any matters of fraud relating to the ſaid duties on ſalt ſhall hereafter appear, which are not ſufficiently provided againſt by this article, the ſame ſhall be ſubject to ſuch further proviſions as ſhall be thought fit by the Parliament of Great Britain.

IX. That whenever the ſum of one million, nine hundred and ninety-ſeven thouſand, ſeven hundred and ſixty-three pounds, eight ſhillings and four-pence halfpennv, ſhall be enacted by the Parliament of Great-Britain, to be raiſed in that part of the united kingdom now called England, on land and other things uſually charged in acts of Parliament there, for granting an aid to the Crown by a land-tax; that part of the united kingdom, now called Scotland, ſhall be charged by the ſame act with a further ſum of forty-eight thouſand pounds, free of all charges, as the quota of Scotland to ſuch tax, and ſo proportionably for any greater or leſſer ſum raiſed in England by any tax on land, and other things uſually charged together with the land; and that ſuch quota for Scotland, in the caſes aforeſaid, be raiſed and collected in the ſame manner as the ceſs now is in Scotland, but ſubject to ſuch regulations in the manner of collecting, as ſhall be made by the Parliament of Great Britain.

X. That during the continuance of the reſpective duties on ſtamped paper, vellum and parchment, by the ſeveral acts now in England, Scotland ſhall not be charged with the ſame reſpective duties.

XI. That during the continuance of the duties payable in England on windows and lights, which determines on the firſt day of Auguſt, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ten, Scotland ſhall not be charged with the ſame duties.

XII. That during the continuance of the duties payable in England on coals, culm and cinders, which determines the thirtieth day of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ten, Scotland ſhall not be charged therewith for coals, culm, and cinders not conſumed there, but ſhall be charged with the ſame duties as in England for all coal, culm and cinders not conſumed in Scotland.

XIII. That

XIII. That during the continuance of the duty payable in England upon malt, which determines the twenty-fourth day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven, Scotland ſhall not be charged with that duty.

XIV. That the kingdom of Scotland be not charged with any other duties laid on by the Parliament of England before the Union, except thoſe conſented to in this treaty; in regard it is agreed, that all neceſſary proviſion ſhall be made by the Parliament of Scotland, for the public charge and ſervice of that kingdom, for the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven: Providing nevertheleſs, that, if the Parliament of England ſhall think fit to lay any farther impoſitions, by way of cuſtoms, or ſuch exciſes, with which, by virtue of this treaty, Scotland is to be charged equally with England; in ſuch caſe, Scotland ſhall be liable to the ſame cuſtoms and exciſes, and have an equivalent to be ſettled by the Parliament of Great Britain. And ſeeing it cannot be ſuppoſed that the Parliament of Great Britain will ever lay any ſorts of burdens upon the united kingdom, but what they ſhall find of neceſſity, at that time, for the preſervation and good of the whole, and with due regard to the circumſtances and abilities of every part of the united kingdom: therefore, it is agreed, that there be no further exemption inſiſted on for any part of the united kingdom; but that the conſideration of any exemptions, beyond what are already agreed on in this treaty, ſhall be left to the determination of the Parliament of Great Britain.

XV. Whereas, by the terms of this treaty, the ſubjects of Scotland, for preſerving an equality of trade throughout the united kingdom, will be liable to ſeveral cuſtoms and exciſes now payable in England, which will be applicable towards payment of the debts of England, contracted before the Union;

it

it is agreed that Scotland ſhall have an equivalent for what the ſubjects thereof ſhall be ſo charged, towards payment of the ſaid debts of England, in all particulars whatſoever, in manner following, viz. That before the Union of the ſaid kingdoms, the ſum of 398,085l. 10s. be granted to Her Majeſty by the Parliament of England, for the uſes aftermentioned, being the equivalent to be anſwered to Scotland, for ſuch parts of the ſaid cuſtoms and exciſes upon all exciſeable liquors, with which that kingdom is to be charged upon the Union, as will be applicable to the payment of the ſaid debts of England, according to the proportions which the preſent cuſtoms in Scotland, being 30,000l. per annum, do bear to the cuſtoms in England computed at 1,341,559l. per annum: and which, the preſent exciſes on exciſeable liquors in Scotland being 33,500l. per annum, do bear to the exciſes on exciſeable liquors in England, computed at 947,602l. per annum; which ſum of 398,085l. 10s. ſhall be due and payable from the time of the Union: and in regard that, after the Union, Scotland becoming liable to the ſame cuſtoms and duties payable on import and export, and to the ſame exciſes on all exciſeable liquors as in England, as well upon that account, as upon the account of the increaſe of trade and people, (which will be the happy conſequence of the Union) the ſaid revenues will much improve beyond the before-mentioned annual values thereof, of which no preſent eſtimate can be made; yet nevertheleſs, for the reaſons aforeſaid, there ought to be a proportionable equivalent anſwered to Scotland.—It is agreed, that, after the Union, there ſhall be an account kept of the ſaid duties ariſing in Scotland, to the end it may appear what ought to be anſwered to Scotland, as an equivalent for ſuch proportion of the ſaid increaſe as ſhall be applicable to the payment of the debts of England.

England. And for the further and more effectual anſwering the ſeveral ends hereafter mentioned, it is agreed, that from and after the Union, the whole increaſe of the revenues of cuſtoms, and duties on import and export, and exciſe upon exciſeable liquors in Scotland, over and above the annual produce of the ſaid reſpective duties, as above ſtated, ſhall go and be applied, for the term of ſeven years, to the uſes hereafter mentioned; and that, upon the ſaid account, there ſhall be anſwered to Scotland annually, from the end of ſeven years after the Union, an equivalent in proportion to ſuch part of the ſaid increaſe as ſhall be applicable to the debts of England. And whereas, from the expiration of ſeven years after the Union, Scotland is to be liable to the ſame duties for ſalt made in Scotland, as ſhall then be payable for ſalt made in England; it is agreed, that, when ſuch duties take place there, an equivalent ſhall be anſwered to Scotland, for ſuch part thereof as ſhall be applied towards payment of the debts of England; of which duties an account ſhall be kept, to the end it may appear what is to be anſwered to Scotland as the ſaid equivalent. And generally, that an equivalent ſhall be anſwered to Scotland for ſuch parts of the Engliſh debts as Scotland may hereafter become liable to pay by reaſon of the Union, other than ſuch for which appropriations have been made by Parliament in England of the cuſtoms, or other duties on export and import, exciſes on all exciſeable liquors, or ſalt, in reſpect of which debts equivalents are herein before provided. And as for the uſes to which the ſaid ſum of 398,085l. 10s. is to be granted as aforeſaid, and all other monies, which are to be anſwered or allowed to Scotland as aforeſaid, it is agreed, that, out of the ſaid ſum of 398,085l. 10s. all the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland, and alſo the capital ſtock or fund of the African and Indian Company

pany of Scotland advanced, together with the intereſt for the ſaid capital ſtock, after the rate of 5l. per cent. per annum, from the reſpective times of the payment thereof, ſhall be paid: Upon payment of which capital ſtock and intereſt, it is agreed, the ſaid Company be diſſolved and ceaſe; and alſo, that from the time of paſſing the act of Parliament in England, for raiſing the ſaid ſum of 398,085l. 10s. the ſaid Company ſhall neither trade, nor grant licence to trade. And as to the overplus of the ſaid ſum of 398,085l. 10s. after the payment of the ſaid debts of the kingdom of Scotland, and the ſaid capital ſtock and intereſt, and alſo the whole increaſe of the ſaid revenues of cuſtoms, duties and exciſes, above the preſent value, which ſhall ariſe in Scotland during the ſaid term of ſeven years, together with the equivalent which ſhall become due upon account of the improvement thereof in Scotland after the ſaid term; and alſo, as to all other ſums, which, according to the agreements aforeſaid, may become payable to Scotland by way of equivalent for what that kingdom ſhall hereafter become liable towards payment of the debts of England, it is agreed, that the ſame be applied in the manner following, viz. That out of the ſame, what conſideration ſhall be found neceſſary to be had for any loſſes which private perſons may ſuſtain, by reducing the coin of Scotland to the ſtandard and value of the coin of England, may be made good; and afterwards the ſame ſhall be wholly applied towards encouraging and promoting the fiſheries, and ſuch other manufactories and improvements in Scotland as may moſt conduce to the general good of the united kingdom. And it is agreed, that her Majeſty be impowered to appoint Commiſſioners, who ſhall be accountable to the Parliament of Great Britain, for diſpoſing the ſaid ſum of 398,085l. 10s. and all other monies which ſhall ariſe to Scotland upon the agreements aforeſaid,

to

to the purpoſes before mentioned: Which Commiſſioners ſhall be empowered to call for, receive, and diſpoſe of the ſaid monies in the manner aforeſaid, and to inſpect the books of the ſeveral collectors of the ſaid revenues, and of all other duties, from whence an equivalent may ariſe; and that the collectors and managers of the ſaid revenues and duties be obliged to give to the ſaid Commiſſioners ſubſcribed authentic abbreviates of the produce of ſuch revenues and duties ariſing in their reſpective diſtricts; and that the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall have their office within the limits of Scotland, and ſhall, in ſuch office, keep books containing accounts of the amount of the equivalents, and how the ſame ſhall have been diſpoſed of from time to time, which may be inſpected by any of the ſubjects who ſhall deſire the ſame.

XVI. That, from and after the Union, the coin ſhall be of the ſame ſtandard and value throughout the united kingdom, as now in England, and a mint ſhall be continued in Scotland under the ſame rules as the mint in England, ſubject to ſuch regulations as her Majeſty, her heirs, or ſucceſſors, or the Parliament of Great Britain ſhall think fit.

XVII. That, from and after the Union, the ſame weights and meaſures ſhall be uſed throughout the united kingdom as are now eſtabliſhed in England; and ſtandards of weights and meaſures ſhall be kept by thoſe boroughs in Scotland, to whom the keeping the ſtandards of weights and meaſures, now in uſe there, does of ſpecial right belong: All which ſtandards ſhall be ſent down to ſuch reſpective boroughs from the ſtandards kept in the Exchequer at Weſtminſter, ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch regulations as the Parliament of Great Britain ſhall think fit.

XVIII. That the laws concerning the regulation of trade, cuſtoms, and ſuch exciſes to which Scotland is by virtue of this treaty to be liable, be

the

the ſame in Scotland, from and after the Union, as in England; and that all other laws in uſe within the kingdom of Scotland, do after the Union, and notwithſtanding thereof, remain in the ſame force as before, (except ſuch as are contrary to, or inconſiſtent with the terms of this treaty) but alterable by the Parliament of Great Britain; with this difference betwixt the laws concerning public right, policy and civil government, and thoſe which concern private right, that the laws which concern public right, policy, and civil government, may be made the ſame throughout the whole united kingdom; but that no alteration be made in laws which concern private right, except for evident utility of the ſubjects within Scotland.

XIX. That the Court of Seſſion, or College of Juſtice, do after the Union, and notwithſtanding thereof, remain in all time coming within Scotland as it is now conſtituted by the laws of that kingdom, and with the ſame authority and privileges as before the Union; ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch regulations for the better adminiſtration of juſtice, as ſhall be made by the Parliament of Great Britain; and that the Court of Juſticiary do alſo, after the Union, and notwithſtanding thereof, remain in all time coming within Scotland, as it is now conſtituted by the laws of that kingdom, and with the ſame authority and privileges as before the Union, ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch regulations as ſhall be made by the Parliament of Great Britain, and without prejudice of other rights of Juſticiary; and that all Admiralty juriſdictions be under the Lord High Admiral, or Commiſſioners for the Admiralty of Great Britain for the time being; and that the Court of Admiralty now eſtabliſhed in Scotland be continued, and that all reviews, reductions, or ſuſpenſions, of the ſentences in maritime caſes, competent to the juriſdiction of that Court, remain in the ſame manner after the Union, as now in Scotland,

land, until the Parliament of Great Britain ſhall make ſuch regulations and alterations as ſhall be judged expedient for the whole united kingdom, ſo as there be always continued in Scotland a Court of Admiralty, ſuch as is in England, for determination of all maritime caſes relating to private rights in Scotland, competent to the juriſdiction of the Admiralty Court; ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch regulations and alterations as ſhall be thought proper to be made by the Parliament of Great Britain; and that the heretable rights of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralties in Scotland be reſerved to the reſpective proprietors as rights of property, ſubject nevertheleſs, as to the manner of exerciſing ſuch heretable rights, to ſuch regulations and alterations as ſhall be thought proper to be made by the Parliament of Great Britain; and that all other Courts now in being within the kingdom of Scotland do remain, but ſubject to alterations by the Parliament of Great Britain; and that all inferior courts within the ſaid limits do remain ſubordinate, as they are now, to the ſupreme courts of juſtice within the ſame, in all time coming: and that no cauſes in Scotland be cognizable by the Courts of Chancery, Queen's-Bench, Common-Pleas, or any other Court in Weſtminſter-hall; and that the ſaid Courts, or any other of the like nature, after the Union, ſhall have no power to cognize, review, or alter the acts or ſentences of the judicatures within Scotland, or ſtop the execution of the ſame; and that there be a Court of Exchequer in Scotland, after the Union, for deciding queſtions concerning the revenues of cuſtoms and exciſes there, having the ſame power and authority, in ſuch caſes, as the Court of Exchequer has in England; and that the ſaid Court of Exchequer in Scotland have power of paſſing ſignatures, gifts, tutories, and in other things, as the Court of Exchequer at preſent in Scotland hath; and that the Court of Exchequer that now is in Scotland do remain,

main, until a new Court of Exchequer be ſettled by the Parliament of Great Britain in Scotland, after the Union; and that, after the Union, the Queen's Majeſty, and her royal ſucceſſors, may continue a Privy Council in Scotland, for preſerving of public peace and order, until the Parliament of Great Britain ſhall think fit to alter it, or eſtabliſh any other effectual method for that end.

XX. That all heretable offices, heretable juriſdictions, offices for life, and juriſdictions for life, be reſerved to the owners thereof, as rights of property, in the ſame manner as they are now enjoyed by the laws of Scotland, notwithſtanding of this treaty.

XXI. That the rights and privileges of the royal-boroughs in Scotland, as they now are, do remain intire, after the Union, and notwithſtanding thereof.

XXII. That by virtue of this treaty, of the Peers of Scotland, at the time of the Union, ſixteen ſhall be the number to ſit and vote in the Houſe of Lords, and forty-five the number of the repreſentatives of Scotland in the Houſe of Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain; and that when her Majeſty, her heirs or ſucceſſors, ſhall declare her or their pleaſure, for holding the firſt or any ſubſequent Parliament of Great Britain, until the Parliament of Great Britain ſhall make further proviſion therein, a writ do iſſue under the great ſeal of the united kingdom, directed to the Privy Council of Scotland, commanding them to cauſe ſixteen Peers, who are to ſit in the Houſe of Lords, to be ſummoned to Parliament, and forty-five Members to be elected to ſit in the Houſe of Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain, according to the agreement in this treaty, in ſuch manner as by the Parliament of Scotland ſhall be ſettled before the Union: And that the names of the perſons ſo ſummoned and elected ſhall be returned by the Privy Council of Scotland,

Scotland, into the Court from whence the ſaid writ did iſſue. And that, if her Majeſty, on or before the firſt day of May next, on which day the Union is to take place, ſhall declare, under the great ſeal of England, that it is expedient, that the Lords of Parliament of England, and Commons of the preſent Parliament of England, ſhould be the Members of the reſpective Houſes of the firſt Parliament of Great Britain, for, and on the part of England, then the ſaid Lords of Parliament of England, and Commons of the preſent Parliament of England, ſhall be the Members of the reſpective Houſes of the firſt Parliament of Great Britain, for, and on the part of England: And her Majeſty may, by her royal proclamation, under the great ſeal of Great Britain, appoint the ſaid firſt Parliament of Great Britain to meet at ſuch time and place as her Majeſty ſhall think fit; which time ſhall not be leſs than fifty days after the date of ſuch proclamation; and the time and place of the meeting of ſuch Parliament being ſo appointed, a writ ſhall be immediately iſſued, under the great ſeal of Great Britain, directed to the Privy Council of Scotland, for the ſummoning the ſixteen Peers, and for electing forty-five Members, by whom Scotland is to be repreſented in the Parliament of Great Britain: And the Lords of Parliament of England, and the ſixteen Peers of Scotland, ſuch ſixteen Peers being ſummoned and returned in the manner agreed in this treaty; and the Members of the Houſe of Commons of the ſaid Parliament of England, and the forty-five Members for Scotland, ſuch forty-five Members being elected and returned in the manner agreed in this treaty, ſhall aſſemble and meet reſpectively, in their reſpective Houſes of the Parliament of Great Britain, at ſuch time and place as ſhall be ſo appointed by her Majeſty. and ſhall be the two Houſes of the firſt Parliament of Great Britain;

Britain; and that Parliament may continue for ſuch time only as the preſent Parliament of England might have continued, if the Union of the two kingdoms had not been made, unleſs ſooner diſſolved by her Majeſty; and that every one of the Lords of Parliament of Great Britain, and every Member of the Houſe of Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain, in the firſt and all ſucceeding Parliaments of Great Britain, until the Parliament of Great Britain ſhall otherwiſe direct, ſhall take the reſpective oaths appointed to be taken inſtead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, by an act of Parliament made in England, in the firſt year of the reign of the late King William and Queen Mary, intitled, *An act for the abrogating of the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance, and appointing other oaths;* and make, ſubſcribe, and audibly repeat the Declaration mentioned in an act of Parliament made in England, in the thirtieth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, intitled, *An act for the more effectual preſerving the King's Perſon and Government, by diſabling Papiſts from ſitting in either Houſe of Parliament;* and ſhall take and ſubſcribe the oath mentioned in an act of Parliament made in England, in the firſt year of her Majeſty's reign, entitled, *An act to declare the alterations in the Oath appointed to be taken by the act, entitled, An act for the further ſecurity of His Majeſty's Perſon, and the ſucceſſion of the crown in the Proteſtant line, and for extinguiſhing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders, and their open and ſecret abettors;* and for declaring the Aſſociation to be determined at ſuch time, and in ſuch manner, as the Members of both Houſes of Parliament of England are, by the ſaid reſpective acts, directed to take, make, and ſubſcribe the ſame, upon the penalties and diſabilities in the ſaid reſpective acts contained. And it is declared and agreed, that theſe words,

this

this realm, *the crown of this realm*, and *the Queen of this realm*, mentioned in the Oaths and Declaration, contained in the aforeſaid acts, which were intended to ſignify the Crown and Realm of England, ſhall be underſtood of the Crown and Realm of Great Britain; and that, in that ſenſe, the ſaid Oaths and Declaration be taken and ſubſcribed by the Members of both Houſes of the Parliament of Great Britain.

XXIII. That the aforeſaid ſixteen Peers of Scotland, mentioned in the laſt preceding article, to ſit in the Houſe of Lords of the Parliament of Great Britain, ſhall have all privileges of Parliament, which the Peers of England now have, and which they, or any Peers of Great Britain, ſhall have after the Union, and particularly the right of ſitting upon the trials of Peers: and in caſe of the trial of any Peer, in time of adjournment or prorogation of Parliament, the ſaid ſixteen Peers ſhall be ſummoned in the ſame manner, and have the ſame powers and privileges at ſuch trial, as any other Peers of Great Britain: and that in caſe any trials of Peers ſhall hereafter happen, when there is no Parliament in being, the ſixteen Peers of Scotland, who ſat in the laſt preceding Parliament, ſhall be ſummoned in the ſame manner, and have the ſame powers and privileges at ſuch trials, as any other Peers of Great Britain; and that all Peers of Scotland, and their ſucceſſors to their honours and dignities, ſhall, from and after the Union, be Peers of Great Britain; and have rank and precedency next and immediately after the Peers of the like orders and degrees in England, at the time of the Union, and before all Peers of Great Britain, of the like orders and degrees, who may be created after the Union; and ſhall be tried as Peers of Great Britain, and ſhall enjoy all privileges of Peers, as fully as Peers of England do now, or as they or any other Peers of Great

Great Britain may hereafter enjoy the ſame, except the right and privilege of ſitting in the Houſe of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of ſitting upon the trials of Peers.

XXIV. That from and after the Union, there be one great ſeal for the united kingdom of Great Britain, which ſhall be different from the great ſeal now uſed in either kingdom; and that the quartering the arms as may beſt ſuit the Union, be left to her Majeſty; and that in the mean time the great ſeal of England be uſed as the great ſeal of the united kingdom; and that the great ſeal of the united kingdom be uſed for ſealing writs to elect and ſummon the Parliament of Great Britain, and for ſealing all treaties with foreign Princes and ſtates, and all public acts, inſtruments and orders of ſtate, which concern the whole united kingdom, and in all other matters relating to England, as the great ſeal of England is now uſed: and that a ſeal in Scotland, after the Union, be always kept and made uſe of in all things relating to private rights or grants, which have uſually paſſed the great ſeal of Scotland, and which only concern officers, grants, commiſſions and private rights within that kingdom; and that until ſuch ſeal ſhall be appointed by her Majeſty, the preſent great ſeal of Scotland ſhall be uſed for ſuch purpoſes; and that the privy ſeal, ſignet, caſſet, ſignet of the Juſticiary Court, quarter ſeal, and ſeals of courts now uſed in Scotland be continued; but that the ſaid ſeals be altered and adapted to the ſtate of the Union, as her Majeſty ſhall think fit; and the ſaid ſeals, and all of them, and the keepers of them, ſhall be ſubject to ſuch regulations as the Parliament of Great Britain ſhall hereafter make.

XXV. That all laws and ſtatutes in either kingdom, ſo far as they are contrary to, or inconſiſtent with

with the terms of these articles, or any of them, shall, from and after the Union, cease and become void, and shall be so declared to be by the respective Parliaments of the said kingdoms.

In testimony whereof, the Commissioners for the respective kingdoms, empowered as aforesaid, have set their hands and seals to these articles, contained in this and the twenty-five foregoing pages, at Westminster, the day and year first above written.

Seafield, Cancellar.
Queensberry, C. P. S.
Mar, S.
Loudoun, S.
Sutherland.
Morton,
Wemyss,
Leven,
Stair,
Roseberie,
Glasgow,
Arch. Campbell,
Dupplin,
Rosse,
Hew Dalrymple,
Ad. Cokburne,
F. Montgomerie,
David Dalrymple,
Pattr. Johnston,
Ja. Smollett,
W. Morrison,
Alexander Grantt,
W. Seton,
John Clerk,
Dan. Steuart,
Daniel Campbell,

Tho. Cantuar,
Wm. Couper, C. S.
Godolphin,
Pembroke, P.
Newcastle, C. P. S.
Devonshire,
Somerset,
Bolton,
Kingston,
Sunderland,
Orford,
Townshend,
Thwarton,
Poulett,
Somers,
J. Smith,
Hartington,
Granby,
C. Hedges,
Ro. Harley,
H. Boyle,
J. Holt,
Tho. Trevor,
Edw. Northey,
Sim. Harcourt,
J. Cooke,
Stephen Waller.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

UNION

OF

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

THE treaty at London being ended, which, though it ſeemed very perfect in all its parts, and, as abundance of people thought, could not want any corrections, yet, as the ſequel appeared, the moſt difficult work was yet to do.

I know ſome were of the opinion, that this treaty could admit of no additions, amendments, or alterations, and that the words in the reſpective acts of Parliament previous to it, (which ſaid, provided that nothing in this treaty ſhould be binding to either nation, unleſs it ſhall be ratified in the reſpective Parliaments of both kingdoms) implied that the reſpective Parliaments had no power to enter into the articles ſeparately and apart, but only debating on the whole, to approve or diſapprove, ratify or reject it as a treaty.

I ſhall not trouble the reader with any of the reaſons given for this notion, nor make any other remark upon it than this,—that the people who were for

for this opinion, were of two ſorts, and both ſuch as the nations, on either ſide, were very little beholding to.

1. They were ſuch, who having no great concern for the eſſential part of the treaty, viz. the good of their country, were for taking all upon truſt, and concerned not themſelves either with the event, or with the circumſtances, and therefore without any difficulty were willing to put all upon a mere plurality of voices, not much regarding whether it went this way or that. I ſhall be kinder to theſe gentlemen than to record their names, or leave them (ſo eminent in folly) to be known by poſterity, leſt their children ſhould be told hereafter how little their country was obliged to them.

2. The other ſort whoſe follies ought to be concealed, I mean as to naming them, were ſuch who were willing to have them put to the queſtion in groſs; preſuming,

1. That either their being ſo voted, would hand them down clogged with ſo many inconveniencies as would in time force the nations to break the articles, or bringing them to the neceſſity of falling to pieces, the treaty ſhould diſſolve of courſe. Or,

2. That being voted in general, with ſo many apparent difficulties as they pretended to ſee in them, they would infallibly be loſt in this Parliament, and ſo, as formerly, the whole treaty come to nothing.

That theſe people aimed not at ſhortening the labour, but at cutting off the Union itſelf, is manifeſt, and it was but too apparent afterwards; ſince, generally ſpeaking, they were all againſt the treaty in its future debates, and that in every article; by which they plainly made it appear, that they did not argue ſo much to rectify and amend as to deſtroy; not ſo much to make the articles more perfect, or more explicit, more advantageous, or more

ſatisfying; but to annihilate them as articles, and diſſolve the very life and being of the treaty: And this appeared in that through all the debates that happened afterwards, they ſhewed themſelves equally againſt every article, and at the ſame time that they objected againſt things, very ſeldom concerned themſelves to propoſe the alternatives, but rather puſhed at overthrowing the ſubſtance of the thing; and, if poſſible, to urge the moſt neceſſary articles as impracticable and inconſiſtent.

As on the one hand, this diſcovered the deſign of the perſons to be not amending, but deſtroying the articles; ſo it manifeſtly expoſed their ignorance, either of their own ſtrength in Scotland, or of the ſtrength of their friends in the South, in both which parts (had their weak politics prevailed to have put the treaty in general to a vote) they would have loſt it by a majority of voices, the generality of both nations being fully convinced of the abſolute neceſſity of an Union, and would rather have voted it without the amendments than have loſt it.

If I am aſked how I prove this, I think I have a very good foundation for it.

1. In the motions firſt made in the Parliament Houſe in Scotland, November 1, 1706, when the ſtrength of the Houſe, as they call it, was effectually tried.

1. It was moved that the Parliament now proceed to the farther and more particular conſideration of the articles of the Union, in order to approve them or not.

N. B The articles had been read and diſcourſed on ſeverally in the Houſe, and had taken up ſixteen days barely reading them one by one, to hear what one another could ſay, and to give the Members light into the particulars, viz. from the 15th of October to the 1ſt of November.

2. Upon

2. Upon this first motion another followed, viz. That the farther consideration of the Union be yet delayed for some considerable time, that the sentiments of the Parliament of England thereanent be known, and that the Members of Parliament may consult those they represent.

At length the previous question was obtained, viz. "That the Parliament should immediately pro-"ceed to reading the articles;" and on Saturday the 2d of November, 1706, the first article of Union was again read, and the reasonings here in the House began with much calmness; immediately after reading the article, Mr. Seton, of Pitmedden, took the opportunity to say, That having had the honour to be one of the Commissioners for the treaty, he thought it his duty to give some reasons, which moved him to approve that article at London; that he was persuaded, that there were several members so prejudiced against all the articles, that he could not hope from them a favourable audience. And that what he had to say to the present subject of debate, had been thought upon when he signed the treaty; therefore, he would presume to make use of his papers, hoping, though his reasons could not convince any member, yet they might serve to vindicate his conduct to posterity. Then he proceeded, and the 2d of November, 1706, made the following speech:

"My Lord Chancellor,

"THIS honourable House has heard the several "articles of the treaty of Union twice read, has "spent a considerable time in discoursing to each of "them, and, after much debate, is come to exa-"mine and determine upon the first. Notwithstand-"ing all the arguments offered against it, I cannot "find the least motive for altering the opinion I had "at signing this article, having had the honour to

"be

" be one of the Commiſſioners appointed by Her " Majeſty for that end; but that I may give all " ſatisfaction to every member, I ſhall humbly " offer, in a plain manner, my thoughts in relation " to it.

" My Lord, this article is the foundation of the " whole treaty, and the approving or rejecting of it " muſt determine Union or no Union betwixt both " kingdoms.

" How far the approving this article conduces to " our happineſs, appears evidently, by conſidering " the three different ways propoſed for retrieving " the languiſhing condition of this nation; which " are, That we continue under the ſame ſovereign " with England, with limitations on his prerogative " as King of Scotland; that the two kingdoms " be incorporated into one, or that they be entirely " ſeparated.

" That the Union of Crowns, with limitations " on the ſucceſſor, is not ſufficient to rectify the bad " ſtate of this nation, appears from theſe poſitions " founded on reaſon and experience.

" Two kingdoms ſubject to one Sovereign, having " different intereſts, the nearer theſe are one to " another, the greater jealouſy and emulation will " be betwixt them.

" Every Monarch, having two or more kingdoms, will be obliged to prefer the counſel and " intereſt of the ſtronger to that of the weaker: " and the greater diſparity of power and riches there " is betwixt theſe kingdoms, the greater influence " the more powerful nation will have on the Sovereign. Notwithſtanding theſe poſitions, I ſhall " ſuppoſe the Parliament of Scotland is veſted with " the power of making peace and war, of rewarding and puniſhing perſons of all ranks, of levying troops, and of the negative itſelf.

" I could

" I could ſhow the inconveniencies that muſt " attend ſuch a ſtate of government, in diſpoſal of " places, and managing public affairs. I could " likewiſe ſhow the improbability of attaining ſuch " conditions, or keeping them if attained. But " laying aſide ſuch conſiderations, my humble opi- " nion is, that we cannot reap any benefit from " theſe conditions of Government, without the " aſſiſtance of England; and the people thereof will " never be convinced to promote the intereſt of Scot- " land, till both kingdoms are incorporated into " one: ſo that I conceive ſuch a ſtate of limitations " to be no better for Scotland, than if it were en- " tirely ſeparated from England; in which ſtate " there is little appearance of procuring any remedy " to our preſent circumſtances, which appears from " theſe uncontroverted poſitions:

" The people and government of Scotland muſt " be richer or poorer, as they have plenty or ſcarcity " of money, the common meaſure of trade.

" No money or things of value can be purchaſed " in the courſe of commerce, but where there is a " force to protect it.

" This nation is behind all other nations of " Europe, for many years, with reſpect to the " effects of an extended trade.

" This nation being poor, and without force to " protect its commerce, cannot reap great advan- " tages by it, till it partake of the trade and pro- " tection of ſome powerful neighbour nation, that " can communicate both theſe.

" To illuſtrate this laſt poſition, I ſhall give a ſhort " view of the ſtate of commerce we muſt needs be " in, with reſpect to our neighbour nations, ſup- " poſing an entire ſeparation from England.

" The ordinary mean whereby we flouriſh in " wealth, is, that balance which ariſes from the " exchange of our natural or artificial product with

" other

" other places: but we have no valuable branch of " export, which does not interfere with the like " commodity, in ſome more powerful neighbour " nation, whoſe intereſt it is to ſuppreſs or diſcou- " rage our commodity, for raiſing the value of its " own; ſo that there is no demonſtrable ſecurity " for the vent and encouragement of any branch of " our export.

" Can it be expected, that Holland will ſuffer us " to improve our fiſhery, which is to them a nurſery " for ſeamen, a livelihood to many families, and an " immenſe treaſure to the public.

" If we traffic with England, our linen cloth, " cattle, and coals will be diſcouraged, at leaſt af- " ter the ſame manner that we diſcourage export " from thence. If we traffic with Muſcovy, Swe- " den, Denmark, Poland, Germany, France, Spain, " Portugal, and Italy, the ſale of our commodities " will be of ſmall value in thoſe places; ſeeing the " Dutch or Engliſh, by their increaſe of trade, are " capable to ſerve them with moſt of the like goods " cheaper and better than we.

" Let us look to any other part of the world for " vent to our product, and we will find other nati- " ons have prevented us.

" If we attempt the Eaſt-India trade, that is al- " ready enhanced by the Dutch, Engliſh, French, " Spaniards, or Portugueſe, from whom we muſt " expect oppoſition, they themſelves oppoſing one " another daily; and we of no force to debate the " ſame with the moſt inconſiderable of them.

" The trade of Africa is, for the moſt part, of " ſmall value; and every province of America, is " claimed as property, by ſome powerful European " nation.

" If it be ſaid, that Scotland may make alliance " with one of its neighbour nations for protection; " that alliance muſt be with Holland, England or " France.

" France. Other countries being ſo remote or poor,
" that their friendſhips can be of little uſe to us.

" With Holland we can have no advantageous
" alliance, becauſe its chief branch of trade is the
" ſame with ours; with the Engliſh we can expect no
" profitable friendſhip, for they being our near
" neighbours, will be jealous of our increaſe in
" power; and from France few advantages can be
" reaped, till the old offenſive and defenſive league
" be revived betwixt France and England, which
" would give umbrage to the Engliſh, and
" occaſion a war betwixt them and us. And allow-
" ing the Scots, in ſuch a juncture, with the aſſiſt-
" ance of France, to conquer England; Scotland,
" by that conqueſt, could not hope to better its
" preſent ſtate; for it is more than probable, the
" conqueror would make his reſidence in England,
" as formerly the northern people uſed to do in
" their ſouthern expeditions.

" From theſe conſiderations, I conceive, that this
" nation, by an entire ſeparation from England,
" cannot extend its trade, ſo as to raiſe its power in
" proportion to other trafficking nations in Europe;
" but that hereby we may be in danger of return-
" ing to that Gothic conſtitution of government,
" wherein our forefathers were, which was fre-
" quently attended with feuds, murders, depreda-
" tions and rebellions.

" My Lord, I am ſorry, that, in place of things,
" we amuſe ourſelves with words; for my part, I
" comprehend no durable union betwixt Scotland
" and England, but that expreſſed in this article by
" one kingdom, that is to ſay, one people, one
" civil government, and one intereſt.

" It is true, the words, Fœderal Union, are be-
" come very faſhionable, and may be handſomely
" fitted to delude unthinking people; but if any
" member of this Houſe will give himſelf the trou-

" ble

" ble to examine what conditions or articles are " underſtood by theſe words, and reduce them into " any kind of fœderal compacts, whereby diſtinct " nations have been united, I will preſume to ſay, " theſe will be found impracticable, or of very little " uſe to us.

" But to put that matter in a clear light, theſe " queries ought to be duly examined, whether a " fœderal union be practicable betwixt two nations " accuſtomed to a monarchical government? Whe- " ther there can be any ſure guaranty projected for " the obſervance of the articles of a fœderal com- " pact, ſtipulated betwixt two nations, whereof the " one is much ſuperior to the other in riches, num- " bers of people, and an extended commerce? " Whether the advantages of a fœderal union do " balance its diſadvantages? Whether the Engliſh " will accept a fœderal union, ſuppoſing it to be for " the true intereſt of both nations? Whether any " fœderal compact betwixt Scotland and England, " is ſufficient to ſecure the peace of this iſland, or " fortify it againſt the intrigues and invaſions of " its foreign enemies? And, whether England, in " prudence, ought to communicate its trade and " protection to this nation, till both kingdoms are " incorporated into one?

" To clear this laſt query, I ſhall offer a remark " from hiſtory.

" Of two independent and diſtinct kingdoms, " united by a fœderal compact, under one ſove- " reign, the weaker, to preſerve its intereſt, has " ſometimes ſeparated from the ſtronger, unleſs pre- " vented by open force, or ſecret influence on its " government.

" Spain and Portugal were ſubject to the ſame " ſovereign, Philip II. and, notwithſtanding the " Portugueſe got moſt advantageous conditions from " Spain, they no ſooner found a favourable oppor-

" tunity

" tunity in the reign of Philip IV. than they re-
" volted from their allegiance, and elected the Duke
" of Braganza for their king.

" Sweden and Denmark were united by a fœde-
" ral compact under one monarch; but the Swedes
" judging a ſeparation more for their intereſt, broke
" off, and choſe Guſtavus I. for their king.

" My Lord, I ſhould now conſider an incorporat-
" ing union, as it is expreſſed in this article by one
" kingdom; but that I may not take up the time of
" the Houſe, I ſhall only give one hiſtorical remark
" with relation to it,

" Two or more diſtinct kingdoms or ſtates, by
" incorporating into one kingdom, have continued
" under the ſame ſovereign, enjoying equally the
" protection of his government, and every part of
" the body politic, though never ſo far removed
" from the ſeat of government, has flouriſhed in
" wealth, in proportion to the value of its natural
" product, or the induſtry of its inhabitants. To
" prove this remark, there are many examples.

" Spain was formerly divided into ſeveral king-
" doms, ten whereof are incorporated into the one
" kingdom of Spain.

" France was formerly divided into twelve ſtates,
" which are incorporated into the one kingdom of
" France.

" England was formerly divided into ſeven
" kingdoms, which are incorporated into the one
" kingdom of England; Scotland itſelf was former-
" ly divided into two kingdoms, which at preſent
" are incorporated into the one kingdom of
" Scotland.

" I could give ſome account of the particular ad-
" vantages we will obtain by an incorporating union
" with England; but there will be occaſions to diſ-
" courſe of theſe, as the other articles fall under
" the conſideration of this Parliament. In general,

" I may

" I may aſſert, that by this union, we will have ac-
" ceſs to all the advantages in commerce the Engliſh
" enjoy: we will be capable, by a good government,
" to improve our national product, for the benefit
" of the whole iſland; and we will have our liberty,
" property, and religion, ſecured under the protec-
" tion of one Sovereign, and one Parliament of
" Great Britain.

" Now, my Lord, if limitations on the ſucceſſor
" can be of little or no uſe to us; if an entire ſepa-
" ration from England brings no advantage to this
" nation; and if all fœderal compacts, as we are
" ſtated, have inſuperable difficulties, which in ſome
" meaſure I have cleared, there is but one of two
" left to our choice, to wit, That both kingdoms
" be united into one, or that we continue under the
" ſame ſovereign with England, as we have done
" theſe hundred years paſt. This laſt I conceive to
" be a very ill ſtate; for by it (if experience be
" convincing) we cannot expect any of the advan-
" tages of an incorporating union; but on the con-
" trair, our ſovereignty and independency will be
" eclipſed; the number of our nobility will in-
" creaſe; our commons will be oppreſſed; our
" Parliaments will be influenced by England;
" the execution of our laws will be neglected; our
" peace will be interrupted by factions for places
" and penſions; luxury, together with poverty
" (though ſtrange) will invade us; numbers of
" Scots will withdraw themſelves to foreign coun-
" tries; and all the other effects of bad government
" muſt neceſſarily attend us.

" Let us therefore, my Lord, after all theſe con-
" ſiderations, approve this article; and when the
" whole treaty ſhall be duly examined and ratified,
" I am hopeful, this Parliament will return their
" moſt dutiful acknowledgments to Her Majeſty,
" for her royal endeavours in promoting a laſting
" union betwixt both nations."

Next

Next ſpoke the Lord Beilhaven, but without anſwering what had been ſaid by Mr. Seton. He made a long premeditated ſpeech, the nature of which will be beſt underſtood by reading it at length, which being ſo much talked of in the world, I have alſo inſerted here, though I ſhall not trouble the reader with many more ſpeeches in this whole hiſtory.

" My Lord Chancellor,

" When I conſider this affair of an Union betwixt " the two nations, as it is expreſſed in the ſeveral " articles thereof, and now the ſubject of our deli- " beration at this time, I find my mind crowded " with variety of very melancholy thoughts; and I " think it my duty to duſburden myſelf of ſome of " them, by laying them before, and expoſing them " to the ſerious conſideration of this honourable " Houſe.

" I think I ſee a free and independent kingdom " delivering up that which all the world hath been " fighting for ſince the days of Nimrod; yea, that " for which moſt of all the empires, kingdoms, " ſtates, principalities, and dukedoms of Europe, " are at this very time engaged in the moſt bloody " and cruel wars that ever were, to wit, a power to " manage their own affairs by themſelves, without " the aſſiſtance and counſel of any other.

" I think I ſee a national church, founded upon a " rock, ſecured by a Claim of Right, hedged and " fenced about by the ſtricteſt and pointedeſt legal " ſanction that ſovereignty could contrive, voluntarily deſcending into a plain, upon an equal level " with Jews, Papiſts, Socinians, Arminians, Anabaptiſts, and other ſectaries, &c.

" I think I ſee the noble and honourable peerage " of Scotland, whoſe valiant predeceſſors led armies " upon their own proper charges and expences, " now diveſted of their followers and vaſſalages, " and put upon ſuch an equal foot with their vaſſals,

" that

" that I think I ſee a petty Engliſh exciſeman re-
" ceive more homage and reſpect than what was
" paid formerly to their quondam Macallanmores.

" I think I ſee the preſent peers of Scotland,
" whoſe noble anceſtors conquered provinces, over-
" ran countries, reduced and ſubjected towns and
" fortified places, exacted tribute through the great-
" eſt part of England, now walking in the Court
" of Requeſts like ſo many Engliſh Attornies, lay-
" ing aſide their walking ſwords when in company
" with the Engliſh Peers, leſt their ſelf-defence
" ſhould be found murder.

" I think I ſee the honourable eſtate of Barons,
" the bold aſſertors of the nation's rights and liber-
" ties in the worſt of times, now ſetting a watch
" upon their lips and guard upon their tongues, leſt
" they be found guilty of *ſcandalum magnatum.*

" I think I ſee the royal ſtate of boroughs, walk-
" ing their deſolate ſtreets, hanging down their
" heads under diſappointments; wormed out of all
" the branches of their old trade, uncertain what
" hand to turn to; neceſſitated to become prentices
" to their unkind neighbours; and yet, after all,
" finding their trade ſo fortified by companies, and
" ſecured by preſcriptions, that they deſpair of any
" ſucceſs therein.

" I think I ſee our learned Judges laying aſide
" their practiques and deciſions, ſtudying the com-
" mon law of England, gravelled with *certioraries*,
" *niſi priuſes*, writs of error, verdicts indovar, *ejec-*
" *tione firmæ*, injunctions, demurs, &c. and fright-
" ed with appeals and avocations, becauſe of the
" new regulations and rectifications they may meet
" with.

" I think I ſee the valiant and gallant ſoldiery,
" either ſent to learn the plantation trade abroad,
" or at home petitioning for a ſmall ſubſiſtence as
" the reward of their honourable exploits, while

" their

" their old corps are broken, the common ſoldiers " left to beg, and the youngeſt Engliſh corps kept " ſtanding.

" I think I ſee the honeſt, induſtrious tradeſman, " loaded with new taxes and impoſitions, diſappoint- " ed of the equivalents, drinking water in place of " ale, eating his ſaltleſs pottage; petitioning for " encouragement to his manufactories, and anſwer- " ed by counter petitions.

" In ſhort, I think I ſee the laborious plew-man, " with his corn ſpoiling upon his hands for want of " ſale, curſing the day of his birth, dreading the " expence of his burial, and uncertain whether to " marry or do worſe.

" I think I ſee the incurable difficulties of the " landed men, fettered under the golden chain of " equivalents, their pretty daughters petitioning for " want of huſbands, and their ſons for want of em- " ployments.

" I think I ſee our mariners delivering up their " ſhips to their Dutch partners; and what through " preſſes and neceſſity, earning their bread as under- " lings in the Royal Engliſh navy.

" But above all, my Lord, I think I ſee our an- " cient mother, Caledonia, like Cæſar, ſitting in " the midſt of our ſenate, rufully looking round " about her, covering herſelf with her royal gar- " ment, attending the fatal blow, and breathing out " her laſt with a *et tu quoque mi fili.*

" Are not theſe, my Lord, very afflicting thoughts? " And they are but the leaſt part ſuggeſted to me by " theſe diſhonourable articles; ſhould not the con- " ſideration of theſe things vivify theſe dry bones " of ours? Should not the memory of our noble " predeceſſors' valour and conſtancy, rouſe up our " drooping ſpirits? Are our noble predeceſſors' ſouls " got ſo far into the Engliſh cabbage-ſtock and cau- " liflowers, that we ſhould ſhew the leaſt inclina-

" tion

" tion that way? Are our eyes ſo blinded, are our
" ears ſo deafned, are our hearts ſo hardened, are
" our tongues ſo faltered, are our hands ſo fettered,
" that in this our day, I ſay, my Lord, that in this
" our day, that we ſhould not mind the things that
" concern the very being and well being of our
" ancient kingdom, before the day be hid from our
" eyes?

" No, my Lord, God forbid; man's extremity
" is God's opportunity: he is a preſent help in
" time of need; and a deliverer, and that right
" early. Some unforeſeen providence will fall out,
" that may caſt the balance; ſome Joſeph or other
" will ſay, 'Why do ye ſtrive together, ſince you
" are brethren?' None can deſtroy Scotland, ſave
" Scotland's ſelf; hold your hands from the pen,
" you are ſecure. Some Judah or other will ſay,
" 'Let not our hands be upon the lad, he is our
" brother.' There will be a Jehovah-Jireh, and
" ſome ram will be caught in the thicket, when
" the bloody knife is at our mother's throat: let us
" up then, my Lord, and let our noble patriots be-
" have themſelves like men, and we know not how
" ſoon a bleſſing may come.

" My Lord, I wiſh from my heart that this my
" viſion prove not as true, as my reaſons for it are
" probable: I deſign not at this time to enter into
" the merits of any one particular article; I intend
" this diſcourſe as an introduction to what I may
" afterwards ſay upon the whole debate, as it falls
" in before this honourable Houſe; and therefore,
" in the farther proſecution of what I have to ſay,
" I ſhall inſiſt upon ſome few particulars, very ne-
" ceſſary to be underſtood, before we enter into the
" detail of ſo important a matter.

" I ſhall therefore, in the firſt place, endeavour
" to encourage a free and full deliberation, without
" animoſities and heats; in the next place, I ſhall

" endeavour

" endeavour to make an inquiry into the nature and " ſource of the unnatural and dangerous diviſions " that are now on foot within this iſle, with ſome " motives, ſhewing, that it is our intereſt to lay " them aſide at this time. Then I ſhall inquire into " the reaſons which have induced the two nations " to enter into a treaty of Union at this time, with " ſome conſiderations and meditations, with rela- " tion to the behaviour of the Lords Commiſſioners " of the two kingdoms, in the management of this " great concern. And laſtly, I ſhall propoſe a me- " thod, by which we ſhall moſt diſtinctly, and with- " out confuſion, go through the ſeveral articles of " this treaty, without unneceſſary repetitions or loſs " of time: and all this with all deference, and " under the correction of this honourable Houſe.

" My Lord Chancellor, the greateſt honour that " was done unto a Roman was to allow him the " glory of a triumph; the greateſt and moſt diſ- " honourable puniſhment was that of parricide: he " that was guilty of parricide, was beaten with rods " upon his naked body till the blood guſhed out of " all the veins of his body; then he was ſowed up " in a leathern ſack called a Culeus, with a cock, " a viper, and an ape, and thrown headlong into " the ſea.

" My Lord, patricide is a greater crime than par- " ricide all the world over.

" In a triumph, my Lord, when the conqueror " was riding in his triumphal chariot, crowned with " laurels, adorned with trophies, and applauded " with huzzas, there was a Monitor appointed to " ſtand behind him, to warn not to be high-minded, " nor puffed up with overweening thoughts of him- " ſelf; and to his chariot were tied a whip and a " bell, to mind him, that, for all his glory and " grandeur, he was accountable to the people for his

"administration, and would be punished as other "men, if found guilty.

"The greatest honour amongst us, my Lord, is "to represent the Sovereign's sacred person in Par- "liament; and, in one particular, it appears to be "greater than that of a triumph, because the whole "legislative power seems to be wholly intrusted "with him: if he gives the royal assent to an act "of the estate, it becomes a law obligatory upon "the subject, though contrary or without any in- "structions from the Sovereign: if he refuse the "royal assent to a vote in Parliament, it cannot be "a law, though he has the Sovereign's particular "and positive instructions for it.

"His Grace the Duke of Queensberry, who now "represents Her Majesty in this session of Parlia- "ment, hath had the honour of that great trust, as "often, if not more than any Scotsman ever had; "he hath been the favourite of two successive So- "vereigns; and I cannot but commend his con- "stancy and perseverance, that, notwithstanding "his former difficulties and unsuccessful attempts, "and maugre some other specialities not yet de- "termined, that his Grace has yet had the resolu- "tion to undertake the most unpopular measures "last. If his Grace succeed in this affair of an "Union, and that it prove for the happiness and "welfare of the nation, then he justly merits to "have a statue of gold erected for himself; but if "it shall tend to the entire destruction and aboli- "tion of our nation, and that we the nation's trus- "tees shall go into it, then I must say, that a whip, "and a bell, a cock, a viper, and an ape, are but too "small punishments for any such bold unnatural "undertaking and complaisance.

"That I may path a way, my Lord, to a full, "calm, and free reasoning upon this affair, which "is of the last consequence unto this nation, I shall

"mind

" mind this honourable Houſe, that we are the ſuc-
" ceſſors of our noble predeceſſors who founded
" our monarchy, framed our laws, amended, alter-
" ed, and corrected them from time to time, as the
" affairs and circumſtances of the nation did re-
" quire, without the aſſiſtance or advice of any
" foreign power or potentate, and who, during the
" time of two thouſand years, have handed them
" down to us a free, independent nation, with the
" hazard of their lives and fortunes; ſhall not we
" then argue for that which our progenitors have
" purchaſed for us at ſo dear a rate, and with ſo
" much immortal honour and glory? God forbid.
" Shall the hazard of a father unbind the ligaments
" of a dumb ſon's tongue? and ſhall we hold our
" peace when our Patria is in danger? I ſpeak
" this, my Lord, that I may encourage every indi-
" vidual member of this Houſe to ſpeak their mind
" freely. There are many wiſe and prudent men
" amongſt us, who think it not worth their while
" to open their mouths; there are others who can
" ſpeak very well, and to good purpoſe, who ſhelter
" themſelves under the ſhameful cloak of ſilence,
" from a fear of the frowns of great men and par-
" ties. I have obſerved, my Lord, by my experi-
" ence, the greateſt number of ſpeakers in the moſt
" trivial affairs; and it will always prove ſo, while
" we come not to the right underſtanding of our
" oath *de fideli*, whereby we are bound not only to
" give our vote, but our faithful advice in Parlia-
" ment, as we ſhould anſwer to God; and in our
" ancient laws the repreſentatives of the honourable
" barons and the royal boroughs are termed ſpoke-
" men: it lies upon your Lordſhips therefore parti-
" cularly to take notice of ſuch, whoſe modeſty
" makes them baſhful to ſpeak: therefore I ſhall
" leave it upon you, and conclude this point with a
" very memorable ſaying of an honeſt private gen-

" tleman, to a great Queen, upon occaſion of a " ſtate project, contrived by an able ſtateſman, and " the favourite to a great King, againſt a peaceable, " obedient people, becauſe of the diverſity of their " laws and conſtitutions: ' If at this time thou hold " ' thy peace, ſalvation ſhall come to the people " ' from another place, but thou and thy houſe " ' ſhall periſh.' I leave the application to each " particular member of this Houſe.

" My Lord, I come now to conſider our diviſions. " We are under the happy reign (bleſſed be God) " of the beſt of Queens, who has no evil deſign " againſt the meaneſt of her ſubjects, who loves all " her people, and is equally beloved by them again; " and yet that, under the happy influence of our " moſt excellent Queen, there ſhould be ſuch divi- " ſions and factions, more dangerous and threat- " ening to her dominions, than if we were under an " arbitrary government, is moſt ſtrange and unac- " countable. Under an arbitrary Prince, all are " willing to ſerve, becauſe all are under a neceſſity " to obey, whether they will or not: he chooſes " therefore whom he will, without reſpect to either " parties or factions: and if he think fit to take the " advices of his Councils or Parliaments, every man " ſpeaks his mind freely, and the Prince receives " the faithful advice of his people, without the " mixture of ſelf-deſigns: if he prove a good " Prince. the government is eaſy; if bad, either " death or a revolution brings a deliverance. " Whereas here, my Lord, there appears no end " of our miſery, if not prevented in time; factions " are now become independent, and have got foot- " ing in councils, in parliaments, in treaties, in " armies, in incorporations, in families, among " kindred; yea man and wife are not free from " their political jars.

" It

" It remains therefore, my Lord, that I inquire " into the nature of theſe things, and ſince the " names give us not the right idea of the thing, I " am afraid I will have difficulty to make myſelf " well underſtood.

" The names generally uſed to denote the factions " are Whig and Tory—as obſcure as that of the " Guelfs and Gibelins: yea, my Lord, they have " different ſignifications, as they are applied to fac- " tions in each kingdom; a Whig in England is a " heterogeneous creature; in Scotland, he is all of " a piece: a Tory in England is all of a piece, " and a ſtateſman; in Scotland, he is quite other- " wiſe, an anti-courtier and anti-ſtateſman.

" A Whig in England appears to be ſomewhat " like Nebuchadnezzar's image of different metals, " different claſſes, different principles, and differ- " ent deſigns; yet take them all together, they are " like a piece of fine mixed droggat of different " threads, ſome finer, ſome coarſer, which after " all make a comely appearance, and an agreeable " ſuit. A Tory is like a piece of loyal-made Eng- " liſh cloth, the true ſtaple of the nation, all of a " thread: yet if we look narrowly into it, we ſhall " perceive diverſity of colours, which, according " to the various ſituations and poſitions, make " various appearances; ſometimes Tory is like the " moon in its full, as appeared in the affair of the " the Bill of the Occaſional Conformity; upon " other occaſions it appears to be under cloud, and " as if it were eclipſed by a greater body, as it did " in the deſign of the calling over the illuſtrious " Princeſs Sophia. However, by this we may ſee " their deſigns are to outſhoot Whig in his own " bow.

" Whig in Scotland is a true-blue Preſbyterian, " who, without conſidering time or power, will " venture their all for the kirk; but ſometimes leſs

" for

" for the State. The greateſt difficulty is, how to " deſcribe a Scots Tory: of old, when I knew them " firſt, Tory was an honeſt-hearted comradiſh fel- " low, who, provided he were maintained and pro- " tected in his benefices, titles and dignities by the " State, he was the leſs anxious who had the go- " vernment and management of the Church: but " now, what he is ſince Jure-Divinity came in " faſhion, and that Chriſtianity, and by conſequence, " ſalvation comes to depend upon epiſcopal ordina- " tion, I profeſs I know not what to make of him; " only this I muſt ſay for him, that he endeavours " to do, by oppoſition, that, which his brother in " England endeavours, by a more prudent and leſs " ſcrupulous method.

" Now, my Lord, from theſe diviſions there has " got up a kind of ariſtocracy, ſomething like the " famous triumvirate at Rome; they are a kind of " undertakers and pragmatic ſtateſmen, who, find- " ing their power and ſtrength great, and anſwer- " able to their deſigns, will make bargains with our " gracious Sovereign, they will ſerve her faithfully, " but upon their own terms: they muſt have their " own inſtruments, their own meaſures; this man " muſt be turned out, and that man put in, and " then they'll make her the moſt glorious Queen in " Europe.

" Where will this end, my Lord? Is not Her " Majeſty in danger by ſuch a method? Is not the " Monarchy in danger? Is not the nation's peace " and tranquillity in danger? Will a change of " parties make the nation more happy? No, my " Lord, the ſeed is ſown that is like to afford us a " perpetual increaſe; it is not an annual herb, it " takes deep root, it ſeeds and breeds; and, if not " timeouſly prevented by Her Majeſty's royal en- " deavours, will ſplit the whole iſland in two.

" My

" My Lord, I think, conſidering our preſent cir-
" cumſtances at this time, the Almighty God has
" reſerved this great work for us: we may bruiſe
" this Hydra of diviſion, and cruſh this Cocka-
" trice's egg; our neighbours in England are not
" yet fitted for any ſuch thing, they are not under
" the afflicting hand of Providence as we are;
" their circumſtances are great and glorious, their
" treaties are prudently managed both at home and
" abroad, their generals brave and valorous, their
" armies ſucceſsful and victorious, their trophies
" and laurels memorable and ſurpriſing; their ene-
" mies ſubdued and routed, their ſtrong holds be-
" ſieged and taken, ſieges relieved, marſhals killed
" and taken priſoners, provinces and kingdoms are
" the reſults of their victories; the royal navy is
" the terror of Europe, their trade and commerce
" extended through the univerſe, encircling the
" whole habitable world, and rendering their own
" capital city the Emporium for the whole inhabi-
" tants of the earth; and which is yet more than
" all theſe things, the ſubjects freely beſtowing their
" treaſury upon their Sovereign; and above all,
" theſe vaſt riches, the ſinews of war, and without
" which all the glorious ſucceſs had proved abor-
" tive, theſe treaſures are managed with ſuch faith-
" fulneſs and nicety, that they anſwer ſeaſonably
" all their demands, though at never ſo great a diſ-
" tance. Upon theſe conſiderations, my Lord,
" how hard and difficult a thing will it prove to
" perſuade our neighbours to a ſelf-denial bill.

" It is quite otherwiſe with us, my Lord; we are
" an obſcure, poor people, though formerly of
" better account; removed to a remote corner of
" the world, without name and without alliances,
" our poſts mean and precarious; ſo that I profeſs
" I do not think any one poſt of the kingdom
" worth the bringing after, ſave that of being com-

miſſioner

" miſſioner to a long ſeſſion of a factious Scots " Parliament, with an antedated commiſſion, and " that yet renders the reſt of the Miniſters more " miſerable: what hinders us then, my Lord, to " lay aſide our diviſions to unite cordially and " heartily together in our preſent circumſtances, " when our all is at the ſtake. Hannibal, my Lord, " is at our gates, Hannibal is come within our " gates, Hannibal is come the length of this table, " he is at the foot of this throne, he will demoliſh " this throne; if we take not notice, he'll ſeize " upon theſe Regalia, he'll take them as our *ſpolia* " *opima*, and whip us out of this Houſe, never to " return again.

" For the love of God then, my Lord, for the " ſafety and welfare of our ancient kingdom, whoſe " ſad circumſtances I hope we ſhall yet convert " unto proſperity and happineſs! We want no " means, if we unite; God bleſſeth the peace-" makers; we want neither men nor ſufficiency of " all manner of things neceſſary to make a nation " happy: all depends upon management, *Concor-* " *diâ res parvæ creſcunt.* I fear not theſe arti-" cles, though they were ten times worſe than they " are, if we once cordially forgive one another, " and that according to our proverb, *bygones be* " *bygones and fair play to come.* For my part, in " the ſight of God, and in the preſence of this ho-" nourable Houſe, I heartily forgive every man, " and beg that they may do the ſame to me; and I " do moſt humbly propoſe, that his Grace my Lord " Commiſſioner may appoint an Agape, may order " a love feaſt for this honourable Houſe, that we " may lay aſide all ſelf-deſigns, and, after our faſts " and humiliation, may have a day of rejoicing and " thankfulneſs; may eat our meat with gladneſs, " and our bread with a merry heart; then ſhall " we ſit each man under his own fig-tree, and

" the

" the voice of the turtle ſhall be heard in our land,"
" —a bird famous for conſtancy and fidelity.

" My Lord, I ſhall make a pauſe here, and ſtop " going on farther in my diſcourſe, till I ſee far- " ther, if his Grace my Lord Commiſſioner re- " ceive any humble propoſals for removing miſun- " derſtandings among us, and putting an end to " our fatal diviſions; upon honour I have no other " deſign, and I am content to beg the favour upon " my bended knees."

No anſwer.

" My Lord Chancellor, I am ſorry that I muſt " purſue the thread of my ſad and melancholy " ſtory: what remains, I am afraid, will prove as " afflicting as what I have ſaid; I ſhall therefore " conſider the motives which have engaged the two " nations to enter upon a treaty of Union at this " time: in general, my Lord, I think both of them " had in their view to better themſelves by the " treaty; but before I enter upon the particular " motives of each nation, I muſt inform this ho- " nourable Houſe, that ſince I can remember, the " two nations have altered their ſentiments upon " that affair, even almoſt to downright contradic- " tion; they have changed headbands, as we ſay; " for England, till of late, never thought it worth " their pains of treating with us; the good bar- " gain they made at the beginning, they reſolve to " keep, and that which we call an incorporating " Union was not ſo much as in their thoughts. The " firſt notice they ſeemed to take of us, was in our " affair of Caledonia; when they had moſt effectu- " ally broke off that deſign, in a manner very well " known to the world, and unneceſſary to be " repeated here, they kept themſelves quiet during " the time of our complaints upon that head; in " which time our Sovereign, to ſatisfy the nation " and allay their heats, did condeſcend to give us

" ſome

" ſome good laws, and amongſt others, that of " perſonal liberties and of peace and war; but " England having declared their ſucceſſion and ex- " tended their intail without ever taking notice of " us, our gracious Sovereign Queen Anne was gra- " cioufly pleaſed to give the royal aſſent to our Act " of Security, and to give us a hedge to all our " ſacred and civil intereſts, by declaring it high " treaſon to endeavour the alteration of them, as " they were then eſtabliſhed. Thereupon did fol- " low the threatening and minority laws againſt us " by the Parliament of England, and the unjuſt " and unequal character of what Her Majeſty had " ſo graciouſly condeſcended to in our favour: " Now, my Lord, whether the deſire they had to " have us engaged in the ſame ſucceſſion with " them; or whether that they found us like a free " and independent people, breathing after more " liberty than what formerly was looked after; or " whether they were afraid of our Act of Security, " in caſe of Her Majeſty's deceaſe: which of all " theſe motives has induced them to a treaty, I " leave it to themſelves; this I muſt ſay only, they " have made a good bargain this time alſo.

" For the particular motives that induced us, I " think, they are obvious to be known; we found " by ſad experience, that every man hath advanced " in power and riches, as they have done in trade, " and at the ſame time conſidering that no where " through the world ſlaves are found to be rich, " though they ſhould be adorned with chains of " gold, we thereupon changed our notion of an " incorporating Union to that of a fœderal one; " and being reſolved to take this opportunity to " make demands upon them, before we enter into " the ſucceſſion, we were content to impower Her " Majeſty to authoriſe and appoint Commiſſioners " to treat with the Commiſſioners of England,

" with

" with as ample powers as the Lords Commiſſion-
" ers from England had from their conſtituents,
" that we might not appear to have leſs confidence
" in Her Majeſty, nor more narrow-hearted in our
" act than our neighbours of England: and there-
" upon laſt Parliament, after Her Majeſty's gracio-
" ous letter was read, deſiring us to declare the
" ſucceſſion in the firſt place, and afterwards to
" appoint Commiſſioners to treat, we found it ne-
" ceſſary to renew our former Reſolve, which I
" ſhall read to this honourable Houſe:

' *Reſolve preſented by the Duke of* Hamilton *laſt ſeſſion of Parliament*:

' That this Parliament will not proceed to the
' nomination of a ſucceſſor, till we have had a pre-
' vious treaty with England, in relation to our com-
' merce and other concerns with that nation. And
' farther, it is reſolved, That this Parliament will
' proceed to make ſuch limitations and conditions
' of Government, for the rectification of our Con-
' ſtitution, as may ſecure the liberty, religion, and
' independency of this kingdom, before they pro-
' ceed to the ſaid nomination.'

" Now, my Lord, the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament
" having, before they would enter upon any treaty
" with England, by a vote of the Houſe, paſſed
" both an act for limitations, and an act for recti-
" fication of our Conſtitution, what mortal man
" has reaſon to doubt the deſign of this treaty was
" only fœderal?

" My Lord Chancellor, it remains now that we
" conſider the behaviour of the Lords Commiſſion-
" ers at the opening of this treaty. And before I
" enter upon that, allow me to make this medita-
" tion, that if our poſterity, after we are all dead
" and gone, ſhall find themſelves under an ill-made
" bargain,

" bargain, and ſhall have a recourſe unto our re-
" cords, and ſee who have been the managers of
" that treaty, by which they have ſuffered ſo much;
" when they read the names, they will certainly
" conclude and ſay, Ah! our nation has been re-
" duced to the laſt extremity, at the time of this
" treaty; all our great chieftains, all our great
" peers and conſiderable men, who uſed formerly
" to defend the rights and liberties of the nation,
" have been all killed and dead in the bed of ho-
" nour, before ever the nation was neceſſitated to
" condeſcend to ſuch mean and contemptible terms:
" where are the names of the chief men of the
" noble families of Stewarts, Hamiltons, Grahams,
" Campbells, Gordons, Johnſtons, Homes, Mur-
" rays, Kers, &c. Where are the two great offi-
" cers of the Crown, the Conſtable and the Mari-
" ſchal of Scotland? They have certainly all been
" extinguiſhed, and now we are ſlaves for ever.

" Whereas the Engliſh records will make their
" poſterity reverence the memory of the honoura-
" ble names who have brought under their fierce,
" warlike, and troubleſome neighbours, who had
" ſtruggled ſo long for independency, ſhed the beſt
" blood of their nation, and reduced a conſidera-
" ble part of their country to become waſte and
" deſolate.

" I am informed, my Lord, that our Commiſ-
" ſioners did indeed frankly tell the Lords Com-
" miſſioners for England, that the inclination of
" the people of Scotland were much altered of
" late, in relation to an incorporating Union, and
" that therefore ſince the entail was to end with
" Her Majeſty's life, whom God long preſerve, it
" was proper to begin the treaty upon the foot of the
" treaty the 1604th year of God, the time when
" we came firſt under one Sovereign; but this the
" Engliſh Commiſſioners would not agree to, and

" our

" our Commiſſioners, that they might not ſeem ob-
" ſtinate, were willing to treat and conclude in the
" terms laid before this honourable Houſe, and
" ſubjected to their determination.

" If the Lords Commiſſioners for England had
" been as civil and complaiſant, they ſhould cer-
" tainly have finiſhed a fœderal treaty likewiſe,
" that both nations might have the choice, which
" of them to have gone into, as they thought
" fit; but they would hear of nothing but of an
" entire and complete Union, a name which com-
" prehends an Union, either by incorporation, ſur-
" render, or conqueſt; whereas our Commiſſioners
" thought of nothing but a fair, equal, incorpo-
" rating Union; whether this be ſo or not, I leave
" it to every man's judgment; but as for myſelf,
" I muſt beg liberty to think it no ſuch thing. For
" I take an incorporating Union to be, where there
" is a change both in the material and formal points
" of Government, as if two pieces of metal were
" melted down into one maſs, it can neither be ſaid
" to retain its former form or ſubſtance, as it did be-
" fore the mixture. But now when I conſider this
" treaty, as it hath been explained and ſpoke to
" before us theſe three weeks paſt, I ſee the Eng-
" liſh Conſtitution remaining firm, the ſame two
" Houſes of Parliament, the ſame taxes, the ſame
" cuſtoms, the ſame exciſes, the ſame trade in
" companies, the ſame municipal laws and Courts
" of Judicature, and all ours either ſubject to regu-
" lations, or annihilations: only we have the ho-
" nour to pay their old debts, and to have ſome
" few perſons preſent for witneſſes to the validity
" of the deed, when they are pleaſed to contract
" more.

" Good God! What, is this an entire ſurrender?

" My Lord, I find my heart ſo full of grief and
" indignation, that I muſt beg pardon, not to finiſh

" the

" the laſt part of my diſcourſe, that I may drop a
" tear as the prelude to ſo ſad a ſtory."

After having ſat down, and ſome diſcourſes by other members intervening, he continued his diſcourſe thus:

" My Lord Chancellor, what I am now to ſay,
" relates to the method of proceeding in this
" weighty affair: I hear it propoſed by a noble
" member of the other ſide, that we ſhould pro-
" ceed in the ſame order as the Lords Commiſſion-
" ers treaters did. In my humble opinion, my
" Lord, it is neither the natural method, nor can
" it be done without great confuſion and repetition.
" To ſay, you'll agree to the Union of the two
" kingdoms, before you agree in the terms upon
" which they are to be united, ſeems like driving
" the plough before the oxen: The articles which
" narrate the conditions, ſeem to be the premiſes
" upon which the concluſion is inferred; and, ac-
" cording as they are found good or bad, the ſuc-
" ceſs will follow. When a man is married to a
" fortune in England, as they call it, I ſuppoſe he
" is ſatisfied with the thing before he determines
" himſelf to marry; and the propoſal I have heard
" of agreeing to the firſt article, with a proviſo,
" that, if the reſt of the articles ſhall be found
" ſatisfactory, and not otherwiſe, is of a piece with
" the reſt, and looks like beating the air, and no
" ways conſiſtent with fair and ſquare dealings.
" Beſides, my Lord, if we were to go upon the
" firſt article, are not all the reſt of the articles,
" beſides many others not contained in the articles,
" valid arguments, either pro or con, againſt con-
" cluding, or not concluding, the firſt article? and
" no vote in this Houſe can hinder a man from
" making uſe of what arguments he thinks fit.
" Moreover, the ſearching the records, and the re-
" viſing the ſtatute books, comparing the books of
" rates,

" rates, cuſtoms, exciſe, taxes, of both nations, " with one another, muſt all be previouſly conſi- " dered, ere we determine ourſelves in one ſingle " article; add to this, that the prohibitory clauſe, " with relation to the trade of both nations, muſt " be adjuſted, leſt, like Æſop's dog, we loſe the " old, in graſping at the new; the ſtate of the Eng- " liſh companies muſt alſo be expoſed, how far we " ſhall have liberty into them, and what advantage " we may propoſe to ourſelves, by trading to theſe " places where they are ſecured; and above all, my " Lord, the ſecurity of our national church, and " of all that's dear unto us, muſt be previouſly eſta- " bliſhed to us, if practicable, before we conclude " the firſt article. Therefore, my Lord, though " my particular opinion be, though we had a *cart* " *blanch* from England; yet the delivering up of " our ſovereignty gives back with one hand what " we receive from the other, and that there can be " no ſecurity, without the guarantee of a diſtinct " independency betwixt the parties treating: yet, " my Lord, for farther ſatisfaction to this honoura- " ble Houſe, that every member may fully ſatisfy " himſelf, I humbly propoſe, 'That, paſſing by the " 'firſt three articles, which appear to be much of a " 'piece, we begin at the fourth article of the " 'treaty,' and if I be ſeconded in this, I deſire it " may be put to the queſtion."

But neither of the attempts could be carried in the Houſe, nor could they bring the motion to a vote in the terms the propoſal was made, viz. Of conſulting Conſtituents, or waiting till the Engliſh Parliament ſhould ſit:—To both which I ſhall ſpeak in their turn. I only mention it here to ſhow that it was apparent theſe motions proceeded only from a deſire to gain time, which they thought might furniſh a variety of accidents to diſappoint the whole. And the many weak attempts and low ſteps

ſome

ſome gentlemen took, if poſſible, to delay the proceedings, plainly ſhewed the very juncture of time when this was doing, was one of the greateſt unhappineſſes, as they thought it, which befel the party.

2. But I prove this further by the unanimity of the Engliſh Parliament in paſſing the treaty, and ratifying without any amendment, what they thought they had clogged with ſo many inequalities on the other ſide, that it could never go down with them.

I ſhall further convince the reader of the manifeſt deſign of the party againſt the Union, as ſuch, from their frequent attempts to clog the articles with ſuch things as they knew it was impoſſible the Parliament of England could grant; as a liberty to export wool, &c. different drawbacks and different prohibitions in trade, differing and diſproportioned exciſes, cuſtoms and taxes, &c. of which I ſhall take the freedom to ſpeak in their turn.

But being diſappointed in theſe, they found the Parliament of England ſo unanimous, that they paſſed all their amendments, ſome of which were ſuch as the party having merely clamoured the Houſe into, were really paſt, not ſo much for any reſpect to their true ſignification, as for the ſake of giving ſome ſatisfaction to uneaſy people.

How much more then the Parliament of England would have paſſed the whole treaty unaltered, is very evident, and conſequently it is as plain that theſe people had taken no aim in their offering to vote the articles in the groſs, upon a preſumption that it would be a mean to make the whole miſcarry.

The treaty being concluded in England, and the Commiſſioners ſeparated; the next thing was the meeting of the reſpective Parliaments of the two kingdoms for ratification of the articles.

The Parliament of Scotland was firſt, being to meet the third of October, 1706. The Queen was repreſented

repreſented in this Parliament by the Duke of Queenſberry. I know it is not the part of a hiſtorian to make panegyrics, and I think I have given demonſtrations to the world, as to myſelf, that I will flatter no man. But I cannot but give this teſtimony here, that the prudence, calmneſs, temper, and moderation of this noble perſon, had theſe two viſible effects.

1. It gave a wonderful teſtimony to the Queen's judgment, and the right notions ſhe had entertained of the true ſtate, not of her affairs only, but of her people, that her Majeſty knew this work muſt be carried on, not by too much fire or too much water; neither by want of zeal or too much zeal; that there was an inſolent party to deal with, who muſt be borne with, not exaſperated; calmed, not enraged. That there would be as much difficulty required to deal with friends as with enemies, to reconcile jarring intereſts, claſhing parties, and keep all in temper.—There was a ſtrong party for the Union, but they were made up of ſeveral parties, juſt come together as for the occaſion; they were like Epicurus's atoms, by a ſtrange fortuitous chance of concurring circumſtances, brought to join in this, who were perfect antipodes in all their former meaſures, and could never agree to act together before. It was not a matter of the leaſt conſequence to bring together and keep together ſtrong and differing parties, who acted even in this very thing, from different views, and ſome with directly contrary deſigns, and it was all the way as fatiguing to keep ſome gentlemen in ſuited temper for this great work, as to oppoſe the fire and fury of thoſe that ſet themſelves againſt it. Under the ſolid conſideration of all this, and with a full view of the difficulties, at leaſt in general, her Majeſty pitches

upon the Duke of Queenſberry, as a perſon of temper, prudence and moderation, unexceptionable in knowledge of what was before him, reſolute in purſuing it through all difficulties, and of a calm courage in all the paſſive part of it, of which I ſhall ſpeak more at large hereafter.

2. It had this particular advantage, that it was in a great meaſure the only thing that carried this difficult work on. The Duke, in all the heats and animoſities of the party, in all the convulſions of the kingdom, carried on the treaty with eaſineſs, temper, and extraordinary conduct, not taking advantages of the raſhneſs and rudeneſs of the people, pitying rather than apprehending danger from their folly, he kept his hand upon the work, his eye upon the principals of the oppoſite party; he diſappointed all their meaſures; he let himſelf into the darkeſt of their counſels; he purſued the main and great work in hand; and with a contempt above my power to expreſs, received all their inſults, laughed at all their threatenings, treated them courteouſly and calmly under the moſt intolerable carriage, and this, under the ſupreme conduct, was the only ſtep by which this great work could have been brought to paſs.

Had warmer heads been liſtened to, had reſentment been prevailing, had provocations, almoſt beyond the power of fleſh and blood to bear, been prevailing; and I muſt own, who was an eye witneſs to it all, that I often wondered how it was poſſible to bear ſuch things; I ſay, had the gentlemen of warmer heads been liſtened to, nay even with ſtrong reaſonings, and from men of ſound judgments too;—all had been undone, and the nation had been in a flame; we had been deſtroyed, not delivered; the Government had been diſſolved, not united; and Britain had by this time been the

ſeat

ſeat of blood, not an united and proſpering nation.

But this by the way: The Parliament being to meet, her Majeſty's High Commiſſioner haſtened down to Scotland, and the Queen on all occaſions expreſſing her hopes that this treaty would come to a happy iſſue, it was generally expected it would be received with the ſame chearfulneſs and alacrity in Scotland, and our eyes were bent upon the meeting of the approaching Parliament.

In this general expectation, I cannot forbear hinting here, that my curioſity preſſed me to take a journey thither, and being by all my friends, to whom I committed my deſign, encouraged to think I might be uſeful there to prompt a work that I was fully convinced was for the general good of the whole iſland; and particularly neceſſary for the ſtrengthening the proteſtant intereſt, I was moved purely on theſe accounts to undertake a long winter, a chargeable, and as it proved, a hazardous journey.

I contemn, as not worth mentioning, the ſuggeſtions of ſome people, of my being employed thither, to carry on the intereſt of a party.—I have never loved any parties, but with my utmoſt zeal have ſincerely eſpouſed the great and original intereſt of this nation, and of all nations, I mean truth and liberty,—and whoever are of that party, I deſire to be with them.

However, by this journey, I had the opportunity of ſeeing and hearing all the particulars of the following tranſactions, and of uſing my beſt endeavours to anſwer the many, many, and I muſt ſay of ſome of them, the moſt frivolous and ridiculous objections, formed and improved there with great induſtry, againſt every article of the Union; and this is my reaſon for mentioning it here, that I may acquaint poſterity how I came to the knowledge of what I

write; and for no oſtentation at all: and as I had the honour to be frequently ſent for into the ſeveral Committees of Parliament, which were appointed to ſtate ſome difficult points relating to equalities, taxes, prohibitions, &c. 'Tis for thoſe gentlemen to ſay, whether I was uſeful or not, that is none of my buſineſs here; but by this means I have the greater aſſurance to relate the circumſtances and fact as it ſtood before them, and cannot be afraid of being detected in any material miſtake.

And as this is the reaſon of my making any mention of myſelf, ſo the reader cannot but be content to know, from what foundation this relation is handed down to poſterity, and what aſſurance he has that the author he reads was capable of giving him a right ſtate of the matter.

I have hinted already with what freedom the ſcribblers of the age, if I may give them that title, took upon them, in the beginning of this affair, to determine what ſort of Union was proper to be treated of, and every one having vented his politics this way, and that way, as his intereſt or party, or particular employer dictated, we thought that ſtorm had been over; when the Parliament firſt ſat down in Scotland, the generality of people ſeemed very eaſy and forward for an Union in general, as what had long indeed been the deſire of the whole nation; and therefore the ſtrange alienation of the humours of the people, on the general part of it, was the more wonderful, and the more unexpected; of which, and its cauſes, I am now to ſpeak; of the effects I ſhall be more particular hereafter.

On the third of October the Parliament met; his Grace Her Majeſty's High Commiſſioner opened the ſeſſion according to the uſual forms.

Firſt Her Majeſty's letter to the Parliament was preſented to the Houſe by the High Commiſſioner, and

and being received, was read by the Lord Clerk Regiſter, and is as follows:

" ANNE, R.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" SINCE your laſt meeting, we did nominate " Commiſſioners to treat of an Union betwixt our " two kingdoms of Scotland and England, and by " their great care and diligence, a treaty is happily " concluded and laid before Us.

" We have called you together as ſoon as our " affairs could permit, that the treaty may be under " your conſideration, in purſuance of the act made " in the laſt ſeſſion of our Parliament there; and " we hope the terms will be acceptable to you.

" The Union has been long deſired by both na- " tions, and we ſhall eſteem it as the greateſt glory " of our reign to have it now perfected, being fully " perſuaded, that it muſt prove the greateſt happi- " neſs of our people.

" An intire and perfect Union will be the ſolid " foundation of laſting peace; it will ſecure your " religion, liberty and property, remove the ani- " moſities amongſt yourſelves, and the jealouſies " and differences betwixt our two kingdoms: it " muſt increaſe your ſtrength, riches and trade, " and by this Union the whole iſland being joined " in affection, and free from all apprehenſion of " different intereſts, will be enabled to reſiſt all its " enemies, ſupport the proteſtant intereſt every " where, and maintain the liberties of Europe.

" We do upon this occaſion renew the aſſurances " we have formerly given you, of our reſolution to " maintain the government of the Church, as by " law eſtabliſhed in Scotland; and the acts of both " Parliaments, upon which this treaty proceeded, " having reſerved their reſpective governments of

" the

" the Church in each kingdom, the Commiſſioners " have left that matter intire; and you have now " an opportunity for doing what may be neceſſary for " ſecurity of your preſent Church government after " the Union within the limits of Scotland.

" The ſupport of our government, and your own " ſafety does require, that you do make neceſſary " proviſion for maintaining the forces, ſhips and " garriſons, until the Parliament of Great Britain " ſhall provide for theſe ends in the united king- " dom.

" We have made choice of our right truſty, and " right entirely beloved Couſin and Counſellor, " James Duke of Queenſberry, to be our Commiſ- " ſioner, and repreſent our Royal Perſon, being " well ſatisfied with his fitneſs for that truſt, from " the experience we have of his capacity, zeal and " fidelity to our ſervice, and the good of his coun- " try; which, as it has determined us in the choice, " we doubt not but will make him acceptable to you.

" We have fully inſtructed him in all things we " think may fall under your conſideration, and " ſeems to be neceſſary at preſent: therefore we de- " ſire that you may give entire truſt and credit " to him.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" It cannot but be an encouragement to you to " finiſh the Union at this time, that God Almighty " has bleſſed our arms, and thoſe of our allies, " with ſo great ſucceſs, and which gives us the " nearer proſpect of a happy peace, and with it you " will have the full poſſeſſion of all the advantages " of this Union; and you have no reaſon to doubt " but the Parliament of England will do what is " neceſſary on their part, after the readineſs they " have ſhown to remove what might obſtruct the

" entering

" entering on the treaty. We moſt earneſtly re-
" commend to you calmneſs and unanimity in this
" great and weighty affair, that the Union may be
" brought to a happy concluſion, being the only
" effectual way to ſecure your preſent and future
" happineſs, and to diſappoint the deſigns of our
" and your enemies, who will, doubtleſs, on this
" occaſion, uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevent
" or delay this Union, which muſt ſo much contri-
" bute to our glory, and the happineſs of our peo-
" ple; and ſo we bid you heartily farewell. Given
" at our court at Windſor-Caſtle, the 31ſt day of
" July 1706, and of our reign the fifth year."

By Her Majeſty's Command.

M A R.

This letter having been twice read, the Duke of Queenſberry ſeconded the Queen's letter with the following ſpeech.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" Her Majeſty, by her gracious letter, has ac-
" quainted you, that the treaty of Union, between
" the kingdoms of Scotland and England (purſuant
" to an act made in your laſt ſeſſion) has been hap-
" pily agreed on, which is now in my Lord Regiſ-
" ter's hands, ready to be laid before you.

" The Lords Commiſſioners for this kingdom
" have been diligent and zealous in concerting juſt
" and reaſonable terms; and it muſt be acknow-
" ledged, we met with a fair and friendly diſpoſi-
" tion in the Lords Commiſſioners on the other
" part.

" The treaty has, with all humility, been pre-
" ſented to the Queen, and was moſt graciouſly re-
" ceived; and though no reign was ever ſo truly
" great, for wiſe and ſteady councils, and ſo many

" impor-

" important ſucceſſes, as that of her Majeſty; yet, " you ſee, ſhe is pleaſed to eſteem the perfecting of " this Union, as the greateſt glory of her reign, be- " ing the moſt ſolid foundation of a laſting ſecu- " rity to the Proteſtant religion, and the liberties " of Europe, and of peace and happineſs to her " people.

" Theſe reaſons, I doubt not, will make the treaty " acceptable to you; and I perſuade myſelf that " you will proceed with ſuch calmneſs and impartia- " lity, as the weight of the ſubject requires, and " as becomes ſo great an aſſembly.

" The Lords Commiſſioners for both kingdoms " were limited in the matter of church govern- " ment; for the ſecurity of Preſbyterian govern- " ment in this Church, you have the laws already " made for its eſtabliſhment, the Queen's repeated " aſſurances to preſerve it, and I am impowered to " conſent to what may be further neceſſary after the " Union.

" Her Majeſty has been pleaſed to recommend to " you to make proviſion for the forces, ſhips, and " garriſons, which is very neceſſary, the ſubſidies " granted at your laſt meeting being run out; ſo, I " doubt not, you will ſpeedily renew them.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I am not inſenſible of the difficulties that at- " tend the weighty character it has pleaſed her Ma- " jeſty to honour me with, but, with your favour- " able aſſiſtance, (upon which I very much rely) I " hope, by my zeal and fidelity for her Majeſty's " ſervice, and the good of my country, which are " inſeparable, to diſcharge my duty on this extra- " ordinary occaſion."

And

And this was followed with another ſpeech by the Earl of Seafield, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, which I have alſo inſerted here, as follows:

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" It hath been, and is the great happineſs of this " nation, that the Queen our Sovereign hath always " made it the chief deſign of her reign, to protect " her ſubjects, in the enjoyment of all their rights " and privileges; to promote their good, and to " eſtabliſh their peace and proſperity, upon ſure and " laſting foundations.

" For theſe ends, her Majeſty, in her moſt gra- " cious letter, doth, with great earneſtneſs, recom- " mend to you the concluding of the Union of the " two kingdoms, and has plainly and fully laid be- " fore you the great advantages that this Union " muſt bring with it to all Britain, and in particu- " lar to this kingdom.

" The Lords Commiſſioners named by her Ma- " jeſty for this kingdom, to treat of this Union, " have endeavoured to diſcharge this great truſt " with all fidelity, and have agreed to ſuch terms " and conditions, as I hope ſhall be found juſt, " honourable and advantageous; the treaty has " been already received very graciouſly by her Ma- " jeſty, and is now ready to be reported to you for " your conſideration.

" I do not think it proper at this time to deſcend " into the particular articles of the treaty; I ſhall " only beg leave to ſay in general, that it muſt be " of great advantage to have this whole iſland unite " under one Government, and conjoined intirely " in intereſt and affection, having equality of all " rights and privileges, with a free communication " and intercourſe of trade, which muſt certainly " eſtabliſh our ſecurity, augment our ſtrength, and " increaſe our trade and riches.

" We

" We can never expect a more favourable juncture for compleating this Union than at preſent, when her Majeſty has not only recommended it, but declared that ſhe will eſteem it the greateſt glory of her reign, to have it perfected; and when the Parliament of England has ſhewn their inclinations for it, by removing all thoſe obſtacles that did lay in the way of the treaty: and it muſt alſo be acknowledged, that the Lords Commiſſioners for England did teſtify their good diſpoſition all along in this affair: and the great and glorious ſucceſſes wherewith God has bleſſed her Majeſty's arms, and thoſe of her allies, give us the hope of a near and advantageous peace, whereby we will be put in the poſſeſſion, and attain to the full enjoyment of all the liberties and privileges of trade, now offered by the treaty.

" The Commiſſioners of both ſides have only treated of ſuch things as concern the civil government, liberties, privileges, trade and taxes; but found themſelves limited as to the church-government, that being reſerved to each kingdom by the reſpective acts of Parliament upon which the treaty proceeded: and you have now not only the laws already made, with her Majeſty's moſt gracious repeated aſſurances for maintaining and continuing Preſbyterian church-government within this kingdom; but this further opportunity of making ſuch conditions and proviſions as ſhall be found neceſſary for its ſecurity after the concluſion of this Union, within the limits of Scotland,

" Her Majeſty recommends to you to provide the neceſſary ſupplies for the troops, garriſons and ſhips; the funds formerly given are expired: and therefore I doubt not but you will eaſily comply with what is ſo plainly neceſſary for the preſervation of the public ſafety, and preventing the deſigns of enemies now in time of war."

" My

" My Lords and Gentlemen.

" Since we have now the opportunity of eſta-
" bliſhing for ourſelves and our poſterity, by this
" Union with England, all that concerns our reli-
" gion and liberties, together with the moſt valua-
" ble privileges of trade; I am hopeful that you
" will proceed to the conſideration of the articles
" of the treaty, in ſuch manner as ſhall bring it to
" the deſired concluſion, and it cannot but tend to
" the laſting honour of this Seſſion of Parliament,
" to have ſo happily finiſhed this moſt important
" and weighty matter."

The firſt thing the Houſe did, after the ſpeeches above, was to call for the treaty of the Union as it was drawn up and ſigned by the Commiſioners, and having cauſed it to be read in the Houſe, upon ſome general debate, which laſted not long, it was ordered to be printed, and copies to be delivered to the members of Parliament, which was accordingly done.

Till this very day all things had gone on well, and the people in general were very well pleaſed with the thoughts of the Union. They had not yet had ſubject for the turbulent ſpirits to work upon; and having in general only diſcourſed upon the advantages of both ſides, which were indeed in themſelves viſible enough, the clamorous party which followed had not concerted their meaſures, from what topics to work upon the humours of the people.

No ſooner then were the articles printed, and put into the hands of the people, but the gentlemen who ſet themſelves up againſt them, began to preach upon the general heads, as their humour and talent inſtructed them, in order to poſſeſs the people againſt the particulars.

I cannot but diſtinguiſh here between the ſeveral parties that now oppoſed the Union: in my obſervation

vation there were four ſeveral ſorts of people who were againſt this treaty, and who, either within doors or without; either in Parliament, in commiſſion, or in converſation, joined to oppoſe, clamour at, or object againſt the Union; and it is really neceſſary here to diſtinguiſh of them, that when I talk, as I ſhall have frequent occaſion in the proceſs of this ſtory, of the oppoſers, and the parties oppoſing, it may, by the manner of their oppoſing, be diſtinguiſhed who is meant; for I ſhall not name perſons in my diſcourſe of thoſe things, not thinking it neceſſary to make this hiſtory a ſatire upon any one family, or record to poſterity the ſteps they took in particular, or their reaſons for it in this affair.

Where particular actions, more than ordinary public, have diſtinguiſhed perſons, that is their own act and deed, and lies not at my door; but to come to the heads of parties.

1. There was the profeſt Jacobite party, who oppoſed the treaty purely on the account of the ſucceſſion, which they ſaw evidently was ſtruck at, and would be effectually fixt, contrary to their principles, and eternally excluſive of the family they adhered to; and theſe declared their averſion to the Union, upon all occaſions, publicly and fairly, and, for ought I know, were ſome of the honeſteſt of the enemies to the treaty.

2. There was the diſſenters from the church, or the epiſcopal party, theſe oppoſed the Union alſo publicly, as it tended in its conſequences, entirely to ſettle the Preſbyterian eſtabliſhment, for ever to fore-cloſe them, and bar the door againſt all poſſibility of their recovering the government of the church in the manner they deſired; ſince they ſaw but too plainly, however blind others were to it, that this treaty would ſo ſettle the Preſbyterian eſtabliſhment in Scotland, and ſo fortify it by law, that

if

if ever they ſhould attempt to recover the hierarchy of epiſcopacy here, even the very epiſcopal church, their own brethren in England, would be obliged to oppoſe and ſuppreſs them. And theſe, ſo far as they acted fairly, were honeſt and open enemies alſo to the Union.

3. There was a miſtaken people, I hope I may ſay ſo much of my own opinion without offence, for truly I think them miſtaken, who, though this Union was calculated entirely for their ſafety, and tended to their indiſſoluble eſtabliſhment, as by the alarm of their enemies was very viſibly demonſtrated, yet were drawn in by their fears, and, I doubt, thoſe fears too much inflamed by the policy and wicked artifice of whiſperers and diſguiſed enemies, to oppoſe the Union, as dangerous to the church, and as interfering with the ſeveral public engagements the nation had entered into. Theſe, or moſt of them, were honeſt, well-meaning, and ſome of them moſt pious and valuable people; however ſome of them might ſin againſt moderation in the manner of their diſſenting, and a little too warmly puſh on their private opinions.

Of theſe people I ſhall be far from ſaying any thing ſevere, for indeed I cannot think any thing ill of them, I mean as to intentional evil. The weakneſs any of them might diſcover in forwarding, countenancing, or giving a name to the diſorders of the times, was rather the artifice of a party, who endeavoured to enflame the nation, and put the appearance of it upon them, writing their names upon every action, and intitling every tumult to their protection.

But deſcending to particulars, we ſhall find, that however forward, and if their enemies deſire it, I'll venture to ſay, indiſcreet ſome of them might be, in diſcovering their ſentiments with warmth in converſation, yet upon all public occaſions their whole oppoſition

oppoſition of the treaty was confined to legal applications and peaceable endeavours, the tumult at Dumfries only excepted; for as to that of Glaſgow, it was wholly Jacobite; mere rabble and tumult of that party, and the poor blinded commonalty deluded and impoſed upon by them, contrary to the opinions, and without the aſſiſtance of the people I am ſpeaking of, as will appear hereafter.

4. But laſtly, there was a party, who vigorouſly and violently, by all manner of artifice, trick, and underhand dealing, oppoſed this Union, merely upon politic enigmas, reaſons of party, founded upon ſtate principles, ambition, emulation, party-pique, prejudices, and a vaſt variety of unhappy conjunctions, as ſerved to enflame and agitate their ſpirits againſt it. And as theſe were many of them gentlemen of the firſt rank, and ſome of them otherwiſe even well enough affected to both the ſucceſſion, and to the church; ſo I ſhall ſhow more reſpect to their perſons, than to record them in a caſe which I promiſe myſelf they will ſome time or other reckon it their misfortune to have oppoſed, and perhaps be as zealous, now it is finiſhed, to preſerve, as they were before it was finiſhed, to prevent.

Yet I muſt confeſs, it was to theſe gentlemen we owe the amuſing the nation with ſo many unhappy prejudices, the alarming them with ſuch ungrounded apprehenſions, and the embarking the common people againſt it, merely on the appearing of ſuch men in it, on whoſe judgments, and on whoſe quality they had ſo much dependence.

Theſe were the fatal people againſt this treaty, theſe ſtruggled within doors and without, theſe brought to paſs that monſtrous conjunction of oppoſite and diſcording parties, and brought the Jacobites to cry out for the ſucceſſion; the epiſcopal people to want ſecurity for the Preſbyterian church; the Tory

to

to cry out, breach of covenant; and the well-minded Preſbyterian ignorantly excite the people to a rabble.

Theſe went about preaching oppoſition in every ſhape, juſt as it ſuited the people they had to do with, they undertook to join Cameronian and Perſecutor; Preſbyterian and Papiſt; Proteſtant Succeſſion and Jacobitiſm; parties as oppoſite as the elements, as diſtant as the poles; and theſe are the people I deſire to be underſtood of, when in this book I talk in general of the oppoſers of this Union; I name nobody, whoever the coat fits, they are welcome to wear it.

Having thus deſcribed the parties, it would be endleſs to enter into their ſeveral methods, by which they concurred together, I do not ſay confederated, for that was impracticable, their ſeveral aims conſidered; but all concurred nevertheleſs, to put the management of this affair into the following confuſions.

Till the printing of theſe articles, as I have already noted, the people were generally very deſirous of the Union, as a thing which tended to the putting an end to all former animoſities, burying the ancient feuds between the nations, and removing the apprehenſions good people on both ſides had juſtly entertained of a new rupture, in caſe of the Queen's demiſe.

But no ſooner were theſe articles printed and diſperſed, but as if every body had ſet themſelves to raiſe objections, form ſcruples, and find faults in them, the whole nation fell into a general kind of labour, in canvaſſing, banding, and cavilling at the conditions.

1. The poor people were terrified with the apprehenſions of inſupportable taxes, loſs of employment, want of all things, and large payments upon their ſalt and malt.

The

They were again filled with ſtrange ſtories of being ſold to the Engliſh; their Parliament, Crown, Scepter, and even their name as a nation to be loſt, and all carried to England..

2. The merchants were frighted with printed ſchemes of exceſſive cuſtoms and impoſitions, and the ſtrangeſt projects of trade were ſpread about the kingdom that ever were ſeen, which being gotten into the heads of thoſe people, who yet, by their concern in trade, one would have thought, in common charity, ſhould have known better, were ſo managed, that it is hardly poſſible to believe ſuch prepoſterous notions could prevail upon people, otherwiſe knowing enough; ſuch as, 1. The profitableneſs of a trade to France, though all the returns from thence was in periſhable goods, ſuch as wines, brandy, and trifles for conſumption at home.

2. The unprofitableneſs of a trade to England, whither their export of cattle and linen, amounting to above 200,000l. ſterling per annum, brought back very little but ready money.

Theſe were ſtrange things, but ſo popularly puſhed on, that they amuſed the whole nation, and the poor people were told, the Union would beggar the country, and ſtarve the nation; and this talked up to an extravagant height, made the poor perfectly diſtracted. Taxes were calculated without allowing for the advantages of the cuſtoms in other caſes taken off; without conſidering the taxes on malt and ſalt were remote, and probably never to be laid; without conſidering proportions, equalities, and the reaſons, nature, or neceſſity of things; ſo that the poor people were exaſperated to the higheſt degree, and filled with apprehenſions, that they ſhould have neither food to eat, nor beer to drink; that they were juſt to be ſacrificed to the Engliſh; be ſubdued, ruined and deſtroyed.

3. Thoſe

3. Thoſe articles, which left ſome things contingent to the Parliamentary juriſdiction, were improved to perſuade the people, that all their laws, liberties, eſtates, and whatever was near and dear to them, was left entirely to the determination and abſolute diſpoſal of the Britiſh Parliament; in which, they being to have but a ſmall repreſentation, ſuppoſing their own members to be always unbiaſſed and impartial, they ſhould always be over-ruled, out-voted, oppreſſed and ſubjected: To talk to them, in this caſe, of the words unalterable and perpetual, was to ſay nothing; to ſay, the Britiſh Parliament could make no alterations, was to ſay nothing. Theſe things had ſo filled the heads of the people, that nothing could pacify them.

4. But above all this, and which was yet moſt unhappy, as it tended to an univerſal alarm, and to embark a great many ſober and well-affected people againſt it, it was carefully repreſented to be dangerous to the church-government, that all the eſtabliſhment would be ſubjected to a vote of Parliament, and a Parliament, where the prelates had a voice againſt them; that if the Biſhops ſhould pleaſe to vote Epiſcopacy into Scotland, they getting a majority in the Parliament, it would be done; that the Church would be ruined; that if ſhe obtained a toleration, it was the moſt that could be expected in this caſe, and that was precarious and uncertain, and what they muſt come a begging to the biſhops for. This made an unſpeakable diſorder in the minds of the people, and all the methods taken to convince them, that the Parliament could not encroach upon the Church, or any ways concern themſelves about it, were to no purpoſe; they declared the Act of Security to be inſufficient, railed at the Scots Parliament's conſenting in blank to the eſtabliſhment of the Church of England, and inveighed

againſt a toleration of Epiſcopacy here, which they ſaid would be the conſequence.

5. And laſt of all came an univerſal cry, that this was a plain breach of the national covenant and ſolemn league, by which the nation had bound themſelves by oath to God Almighty, among other things, to endeavour the pulling down the Epiſcopal hierarchy, and to reform, to the utmoſt of their power, the Church of England alſo.—All theſe things were not only brought as arguments, but puſhed with ſo much heat, ſo much want of charity and courteſy, that really it began to break all good neighbourhood; it ſoured all ſocieties, and the national quarrel broke into families, who were ever jangling, divided, and oppoſite one among another.—Nor was there any offering the expoſitions, no, not of their own divines, who had declared, that the obligations of the covenant entitled them to no other endeavour of reforming the Church of England, but ſuch as conſiſted in prayers, exhortations, Chriſtian arguments and examples: vide Doctor Rule's Vindication of the Church of Scotland, p. 16. However, there was no talking to the people at this time, nothing but patience and time could be expected to remedy it.

In this juncture, and if poſſible to compleat the diſtractions of the people, one gentleman, by name Mr. Hodges, and who had formerly been ſuppoſed to write for the common good of Scotland, and was rewarded for it by Parliament, by what fate, party, paſſion, or prejudice, remains to this day a doubt,—writes a large book againſt an incorporate Union; in which he abuſes and reproaches England, as a faithleſs, wicked, treacherous and abominable nation, and that to unite with her, was to entail God's judgment on Scotland for her national ſins. A ſad inſtance of the temper of theſe times.

In

In this book he ſets down two and thirty interfering intereſts between the nations, which, he pretends, it is impoſſible to reconcile: It is writ with infinite ſcandal and falſity; and among the reſt, and as a teſt of the ſincerity of the party, he affirms theſe palpable untruths.

1ſt. That in commerce, the Engliſh trade to the Weſt Indies is carried on in excluſive companies, by which, the letting the Scots into that trade, was an Engliſh cheat.

2. That all the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of the Church was left at the mercy of a Britiſh Parliament.

3. That the Members of Parliament in England were obliged to take the Sacrament of the Church of England, before they were admitted to ſit in the Houſe.

This is not a place to confute theſe things; they did not want their anſwer in their ſeaſon, and the people in time did begin to ſee their error, and how this author had, by manifeſt forgery, impoſed upon them.—But ſtill this did the miſchief it was calculated for, before any anſwer could take place; for this book was eagerly eſpouſed by the party, and there was no room to queſtion it was writ at their private appointment: It was induſtriouſly ſpread over all the kingdom in a few days, and no body of any conſideration but had a ſight of it; nay it was handed about among the poor people, to ſtir them up and inflame them, and it had all the ſucceſs the wickedeſt creature could wiſh for; it confounded and amazed the people, the dark ſide of every thing was ſhown them, and the true ſenſe of things concealed; and who can but think the people, thus abuſed, ſhould run out into extravagancies?

It is not ſo much, that a book fraught with abſurdities, falſities and contradictions, merits a note in this work; but I think it is abſolutely neceſſary, to ſhew where the general diſaffection at the

Union began, ſince it was manifeſt, that, till this time, the people were, in general, very well ſatisfied, and the proſpect of an Union was very grateful to them.

It cannot but be ſome ſatisfaction to all thoſe who have heartily eſpouſed this Union, that the oppoſition had ſuch a beginning; that its foundation was laid in the party-prejudices of a few, whoſe refuge and ſupport was the mere aſſiſtance of falſities and unparalleled forgeries, by which the poor ignorant people were amuſed, impoſed upon, and led blindly on, even to the brink of their own deſtruction; from whence, though the good providence of God reſcued them, yet they were ſo poſſeſſed, that they flew in the face of every body that attempted to open their eyes, and inſulted their deliverers.

It was at leaſt a fortnight that the heats of the people, on account of theſe articles, continued, before they produced any extravagant effects; and this time was generally ſpent, in the Parliament, in reading over, diſcourſing upon, and preparing to debate the articles.

For it may be noted, as will appear by the minutes, that the articles were read over one by one in the Houſe, before the main reading of them; and the Members were admitted to ſpeak freely their opinions on every head, but to put nothing to the vote.

During this work, which was from the third of October to the firſt of November, the ferment increaſed, and the whole kingdom ſeemed to be in a diſorder, ſome accounts of which may be very proper here.

There had always been a ſtrong oppoſition in this country to the preſent ſettlement, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, and the Revolution was not eſtabliſhed without a civil war; which, though it was but

ſhort,

ſhort, came to a deciſive battle, which had this particular ſeeming contradiction in it, that the King's army loſt the battle, and got the victory.

The Viſcount of Dundee, formerly Graham of Claverhouſe, headed the malcontent party; the King's forces were routed, but Dundee, unhappily for his party, was found among the ſlain: His victorious party by his death, not only loſt the advantage of their victory, but having loſt the chief of their army, they ſoon diſperſed for want of a head, and the preſent eſtabliſhment prevailed.

But ſtill they left the North Highlands full of diſaffection to the preſent Government, never ſubmitting, but, as it were, by mere force, even to this day.

All the remains of this party, called particularly the Jacobite, were unanimouſly againſt the Union, as they were againſt the ſucceſſion.

2. The Epiſcopal party were againſt it as before, becauſe they foreſaw, that the Preſbyterian church would ſtrengthen their ſettlement, by the addition of England, who by this treaty, would on all occaſions, be obliged to ſupport and defend them, and ſo the party would of courſe be finally excluded.

Theſe two parties ſaw themſelves abandoned by thoſe who formerly oppoſed the ſucceſſion on different reaſons, and that thoſe gentlemen had fallen into the Union, as is before hinted; and though I will not ſay, that they and the Papiſts and Jacobite party were all in an intereſt before, yet it was manifeſt they fell in together now unanimouſly to oppoſe the Union.

What oppoſition they had formerly made was under-hand, partly by ſolicitation of friends, and claſhing of parties; they always looked on it as a thing remote and impracticable, and a thing which the conſtant jars they induſtriouſly promoted among

the

the people, and particularly the national antipathy, would always prevent.

But when, contrary to their expectation, they found, that the Union was brought to a head in England; that the Court puſhed heartily to bring it to a concluſion; and to their great ſurpriſe found the ſeveral oppoſing parties joined together; and that every one, from what different proſpects ſoever, concurred in the Union, and ſeemed to make their court to the times, on the foot of the zeal they ſhould ſhew for this new proſpect of ſettlement.

This exceedingly alarmed them; and they found, that now or never was the time to oppoſe it; that if it obtained now upon the humour of the people, it was certain to be finiſhed, and they and their cauſe effectually fore-cloſed from all hopes of ever retrieving their intereſt.

No ſooner therefore was the Parliament met, and the eyes of all the nation fixed upon the event of this great affair, but all the engines of the ſeveral parties were ſet to work; ſome to expoſe, ſome to defend both the proceedings that were already perfected in England, and thoſe that were now entering upon.

Innumerable pamphlets were printed and diſperſed over the whole kingdom; and induſtriouſly harangued upon by the engines of the reſpective parties, as their intereſts led them.

The next ſtep was to find out popular arguments to gratify the humours of the ſeveral orders or diviſions of the people; and to alarm them with thoſe things in particular, which their ſeveral tempers, parties, or deſigns led them moſt to apprehend.

Thus they ſpread all poſſible ſcandals and ſatires againſt the treaty in general, as well in print as in diſcourſe.

As that it was diſhonourable to Scotland; ſurrendering her ſovereignty and conſtitution; ſubjecting her

her to her ancient and implacable enemies.—That it was depreſſing the honour and dignity of a kingdom that had defended her liberty againſt England with ſuch gallantry and bravery for ſo many hundred years, as if ſhe was leſs able to fight now than never, her ſons leſs bold, her gentry leſs daring, or leſs willing to die for their country; that now they were to be ſlaves, and muſt run to Weſtminſter to vote with a handful of members, who would never be able to carry a queſtion, or to make any weight there, but juſt for form's ſake ſit in the Houſe, and be laughed at.

That the figure Scotland would make in the Britiſh Parliament would not be like a kingdom, but like a province; that one county in England, viz. Cornwall, ſent up as many members, one excepted, as the whole kingdom; and that this was an eternal badge of their ſubjection; and the like.

This was a general cry, and began to be very popular: The people cried out, they were Scotſmen, and they would be Scotſmen ſtill; they contemned the name of Britons, fit for the Welchmen, who were made the ſcoff of the Engliſh, after they had reduced them.—Scotland had always had a name and a fame in foreign courts; they were naturalized in France, enjoyed for many years great privileges there, and honours bought with the blood of their anceſtors; and they would never give away their birthright, though ſome of their nation had been driving a bargain for themſelves, at the price of ſelling their country.—Thus they filled the mouths of the common people, who would go about the ſtreet crying, "No Union," and call the treaters traitors, and ſoon after began to threaten them openly to their faces.

The ſucceſs the party obtained here to incenſe the common people was too much, not to encourage them to proceed; and the next ſtep was, to infuſe

like

like prejudices into the heads of the ſeveral parties and perſuaſions of people: And this was divided into two:

1. To perſuade the honeſt preſbyterian, that the Church would be ſubjected to the votes, the power, and the oppreſſion of the Epiſcopal hierarchy in England.

I will not poſitively aſſert, that this was a mere Jacobite chimera, or had its pure original in plot and deſign; the fears and apprehenſions of honeſt people might at firſt lead them a great way in that caſe: But I believe nobody will take offence, if I ſay thoſe fears and apprehenſions were ſoon made a handle by this party, who ſat ready to take all occaſions, and they immediately raiſed a cry that the Church was betrayed; that Epiſcopacy was coming in upon them; that in the Britiſh Parliament they ſhould be ſubjected to the plurality of voices, in which the Engliſh biſhops, beſide their influence on the nobility and gentry, had alſo their own voices: and that, if the Union ever went forward, they ſhould be certainly ſuppreſſed by the prelates, and reduced to a toleration at beſt, if perhaps that ſhould be obtained.

I cannot be cenſured by any body, in this concluſion of mine, if it be remembered what ſtrange advocates the Church had at this time,—when thoſe that never came to the Church, never owned the juriſdiction of the Church; but, on the contrary, were always known to maltreat her; reject her eſtabliſhment; and never joined with her, either in doctrine or diſcipline, worſhip or government, went up and down, exclaiming at the deſigns of the Engliſh biſhops, to overthrow the eſtabliſhed Church.

Nor will it be remote to the purpoſe to obſerve, that when the act for the ſecurity of the Church came to be debated in Parliament, thoſe very gentlemen appeared zealous to obtain larger conditions,

and

and voted the overture inſufficient for the Church's ſafety, who were never ſuppoſed to owe the Church ſo much good will, or ever before were obſerved to make her ſecurity any part of their concern: nay, nor were ever known ſo much as to join with the Church; own her diſcipline, or call themſelves members.—But this ceaſed to be a myſtery, when ſome of thoſe gentlemen honeſtly declared, this was only done to ſtrengthen their intereſt againſt the Union, and openly began to draw their arguments into a chain of ſucceſſive neceſſities; that from the very Papiſt to the Jacobite, the Prelatiſt, the Preſbyterian, the Cameronian, every one might find reaſons to act together againſt the Union, as a common and a national evil. But of this I ſhall find occaſion to ſpeak again preſently.

The early ſpreading theſe prejudices had but too much ſucceſs; the party applied themſelves, as they found it ſuit the genius and tempers of the people.

To ſome it was fatal to the Church, and they would be ſubjected to prelacy, and the plurality of votes in the Britiſh Parliament.

To others, it was dangerous to the ſtate, and the independency, honour and ſovereignty of the kingdom was betrayed and given up.

Nay, to the very children and moſt ignorant people they had their arguments; ſuch as, that the honours, as they call them, the crown of Scotland, ſword and ſceptre, ſhould be carried away to England. And the boys and mob were invited by a great perſon, in a melancholy tone, to go in and ſee the ancient crown of Scotland, for that it would ſoon be carried away, and they might never ſee it any more.

To others they had a more ſubtile argument; which, though it was perhaps begun among thoſe that had no ill in their deſign, as is ſaid of the firſt, yet, they carefully improved this, as they did all other

other things, to the general confuſion of the times: and this was a notion, that it was abſolutely againſt the national covenant, in which the people had ſworn to two things, which this treaty directly would contravene, and render impoſſible.

1. That Scotland had ſworn in the national covenant, to ſupport the ſovereignty of the kingdom, which they ſaid was now to be given up.

2. That Scotland had engaged to pull down Epiſcopacy in England to the utmoſt of their power.

The ſtarting theſe two things had two fatal proſpects, which indeed, had they not been both overruled by that ſecret hand which had ſingularly appeared in the carrying this treaty on, through ſo many ſeemingly inſuperable difficulties, might have involved both nations in confuſion.

From the firſt of theſe, they pretended to be bound to preſerve the ſtate in its immediate ſeparate condition; as if confederating with, and joining to a more powerful nation, on terms honourable, and tending to ſupport the ſovereignty and power of the whole, was not conſiſting with that part of the covenant, which could no otherwiſe be underſtood there than to ſignify the ſupporting and defending the conſtitution of Scotland, as it was or ſhould be legally eſtabliſhed.

As to the other ſuggeſtion, it was effectually anſwered by one of the moſt learned divines of the Church of Scotland, Dr. Rule; where he explains the meaning of the covenant to be in that caſe, no attempt by force to reduce the Church of England, &c. but what we are bound to by the covenant, is not to reform them, but to concur with them, when lawfully called, to advance reformation, either there or any where elſe: and it is far from our thoughts to go beyond that boundary.—Vindication of the Church of Scotland, p. 16.

But

But this clamour had another effect, which might have been as fatal in its conſequence, had not the ſcene of affairs been very much changed in England, for this very pretence, which the Epiſcopal party prompted, as much as in them lay here, and drew abundance of good and well-meaning people into, in Scotland, as an objection againſt the Union, they immediately turned upon them in England, and ſet ſome of the Church of England Clergy, eſpecially thoſe warm gentlemen who were againſt the Union; they ſet them, I ſay, upon raiſing of the old alarm again, of the danger of the Church, ariſing from the Union; even from this very argument, that the Preſbyterians in Scotland were ſworn by the covenant, to do their utmoſt to pull down Epiſcopacy in England.

I ſhall, as little as poſſible, concern this hiſtory with debates of any of our party quarrels; but the contradiction which theſe people fell into, was remarkable; and could it have been conſidered, might have very much expoſed them.

For if it was true, that the Church of Scotland had ſworn to dethrone Epiſcopacy; and that the Preſbyterians were againſt the Union, becauſe it would deprive them of that power, and for ever tie their hands from that work;—then they were but ill friends to the Church of England among her own Clergy, who were for that reaſon againſt the Union. —And it was an argument of the ſtrongeſt nature to prove, that the Church of England ſhould have been with all her heart for the Union, if ſhe had the leaſt knowledge of her own intereſt.

It is plain from Dr. Rule, that the obligation of the covenant extended no further, than to oblige them to concur with England, when lawfully called to a general reformation.

But the party in England run theſe things a great deal higher, and plied the warm addreſſes of the people;

people; and eſpecially one of the Cameronians, and of their leader Mr. John Hepburn, againſt the Union; calling what thoſe weak people put into their addreſſes, the act and deed of the whole Preſbyterian Church of Scotland; when 'tis known, firſt, that Mr. Hepburn's addreſs had but ſeven hands to it. Secondly, thoſe people, though in other things many of them are good people, yet do neither own the Church nor the State; neither the Civil Government nor the Eccleſiaſtic. Of which I ſhall be larger hereafter.

By theſe artifices it is hardly credible, what averſions they raiſed in the people againſt the Union in general, even before the articles were made public, or at all debated in the Houſe.

But when the articles were printed, and every one began to read lectures upon them, according as their ſeveral fancies guided them, or their intereſt ſeemed to claſh with them, I want words to expreſs what a clamour was raiſed on all hands, and what feuds began to appear in every corner of the nation.

Parties and people, whoſe intereſts and principles differed as much as light and darkneſs; who were as contrary in opinion, and as far aſunder in every thing, as the poles, ſeemed to draw together here.—It was the moſt monſtrous ſight in the world, to ſee the Jacobite and the Preſbyterian, the perſecuting prelatic Nonjuror and the Cameronian; the Papiſt and the reformed Proteſtant, parle together, join intereſt, and concert meaſures together.—To ſee the Jacobites at Glaſgow huzzaing the mob, and encouraging them to have a care of the Church! the high-flying Epiſcopal diſſenter crying out, the overture was not a ſufficient ſecurity for the Church!

Such convulſions as theſe agitated the whole kingdom; and it was the moſt unaccountable thing that ever was known, to find a nation, that but a

few

few months before were earneſtly crying out for an Union, and the nearer the better; and that were fully convinced of the neceſſity they had of this Union, now fly in the face of their maſters, and upbraid the gentlemen who managed it, with ſelling and betraying their country, and ſurrendering their conſtitution, ſovereignty and independence to the Engliſh.

And ſuch was the clamour againſt the treaters, that I verily believe, and I aſſure you I do not give my private opinion in it, had the articles of the treaty been publiſhed before the treaters came home; and the feuds been the ſame againſt them as they were afterwards, there was not many of them would have dared to have gone home, without a guard to protect them.

The merchants, the burghs, the country people, all cried out of oppreſſion, and of ruin and deſtruction in trade.—And yet the amendments that were offered by that party to the articles, in the time of their debate, were ſo ſmall, and ſo trifling, though they had a free debate on every head, that their own friends cried out upon them, for demanding ſo little; and uſed this as an argument againſt them afterwards, that they might have had more, if they had aſked it.

Nor is it to be forgotten, that thoſe very gentlemen, who raiſed moſt noiſe at the general of the treaty, had leaſt to ſay to the particulars; had feweſt objections to make, and leaſt of all concerned themſelves in the amendments.—The reaſon was plain, the deſign was not to amend the treaty, but to deſtroy it; they were not ſolicitous to have a good treaty, but to have no treaty; the drift was to confound it with infinite objections, and to clamour the people out of their wits, that they might, if poſſible, clamour the Parliament out of the Houſe: and of this ſuch evident proofs will appear

in

in the proceſs of this ſtory, as no body, I believe, will make any doubt but that there is reaſon for ſuch an objection.

The Parliament was now met, and the party who oppoſed the treaty diligently made up their greateſt ſtrength within doors in order to it.—I will not ſay that ſeveral took the oath of Parliament, on purpoſe to be able to do ſervice againſt it, who never took the ſaid oath before; but I know it was ſo underſtood of ſeveral gentlemen, and they were reported to be adviſed by their friends to do ſo.

The firſt ſtep they took without doors, as to particulars, was to ſet on foot a notion, that the Members of Parliament had no right to alter the conſtitution, without the particular conſent of their conſtituents; and that therefore the Parliament ought to have an adjournment for ſome time, that the Members might go down into the ſeveral reſpective countries, which they repreſented, and know the mind of their conſtituents.

And though this ſeemed to be many ways confuted by ſtrength of argument; wherein it was alledged, that this was not an altering or giving up the conſtitution; and therefore, ſuppoſe it were true, that the Members were not empowered to act without the conſent of their conſtituents, in giving up the conſtitution, yet this did not reach here.

2. It was alledged, that this Parliament was ſummoned by her Majeſty, with an expreſs ſignification in the proclamation, that it was to treat of, conſult about, and conclude an Union with England; and being ſent up for that declared purpoſe by their conſtituents, there remained no occaſion to demand any further or other inſtructions from them; but they became plenipotentiaries from that particular circumſtance.

3. That, by the conſtitution, it was not required, that the conſtituents ſhould be conſulted on any ſuch

ſuch occaſion; that the Convention of Eſtates tranſpoſed the crown, altered the ſucceſſion, and ſettled the Revolution; which, in all circumſtances, was as eſſential to the conſtitution as this; and that they never conſulted their conſtituents in that caſe at all; nor did the oppoſers of the Revolution demand it: but proteſted, and went out of the Houſe.

And, in this caſe, their champion, Mr. Hodges, alſo was againſt them, who owned, that their Commiſſioners to the Parliament had full power to act for them in this caſe.

However, as things began to run very high, and the people, prompted by theſe popular arguments, aſſumed every thing they thought fit to call their right; ſeveral boroughs wrote letters to their repreſentatives, in their own names, and by their own authorities, requiring them not to give their votes or aſſents to an incorporating Union; or, in ſhort, not to the Union as now coming on, in the terms of the treaty.

But this was not all; for finding that this was not much regarded by the Members, and that precedents in like caſes would not ſupport the practice, they turned their private letters into public addreſſes, and thoſe introduced mobs, tumults, inſultings of magiſtrates, flight of gentlemen from their houſes, and all manner of popular diſorders; till at laſt it came to downright inſurrection and rebellion; which, had not circumſtances and the ſeaſon particularly prevented, had riſen up to blood, civil war, and all the terrible conſequences of an enraged and divided nation, as ſhall more at large be related in its courſe.

But to return to the party that oppoſed the treaty; at firſt they ſtrove to carry on their oppoſition by wiſer methods; and by their force of arguments to poſſeſs the peoples minds with ſuch averſions, as might

might convince the Parliament they were acting againſt the general current of the nation.

And having not at firſt appeared againſt the thing in general, it behoved them to deſcend to particular objections; for, to ſay they would have no Union at all, would have been impolitic, and have formed too great a party againſt them: it was neceſſary therefore to form themſelves into a body of objectors, that had ſome reaſon on their ſide, and could deſcend to particulars to enforce their opinion.

Nor could they, in good manners to the Queen, object againſt an Union in general, who, in her letters to the Parliament, had ſo earneſtly recommended, upon all occaſions, the union of her people, as what her Majeſty eſteemed ſo much for their mutual good, that ſhe would count it her ſingular happineſs, to have it completed in her reign: on this ſcore, I ſay, ſhould they have rejected all manner of Union, or treaty of Union, it would have been ſo directly flying in the face of the Queen's recommendation, that it would have not only appeared rude, but have loſt them a conſiderable party, whoſe aſſiſtance they found very great occaſion for.

This brought all the ſeveral parties, who were againſt the treaty, as well thoſe that were againſt it on the account of the ſucceſſion; as thoſe that were againſt it in general, to fall in with thoſe, who only objected againſt the circumſtances of it; I mean, the conditions, and ſtipulations publiſhed in the articles.

Thus the great variety of objectors, to make themſelves perfectly formidable, however different in notion or deſign, made up one body; and turned their arguments from being pointed againſt the union in general, to be pointed againſt the terms of it, an incorporating union.

This brought them back to the ſeveral ſchemes of foreign unions of nations, ſuch as Switzerland, the

the United Provinces, and the like: and ſome propoſed one thing, ſome another, not foreſeeing, that, had even any of their propoſals come to have been the real treaty, yet this party, who were againſt the Union as ſuch, would have been as much againſt that, as they were againſt this; and ſo at laſt they muſt have divided, broke their intereſt, and loſt the whole, which was the main thing aimed at.

And thus now ſtood the debate —"No incorporating union," was the word: —"Let us have an "Union with England with all our hearts; but no "incorporation;—let us keep our Parliament,— "keep our ſovereignty,—keep our independency,— "keep our conſtitution; and for all the reſt, we "are ready to unite with you, as firmly as you can "deviſe."

This was thought, by moſt, to be juſt reviving the former notions of a federal union, with ſo many inconſiſtent noun-ſubſtantives in their government, that had upon all occaſions been found impracticable; and which would ſo entirely have left both nations expoſed to the poſſibility of relapſing into a divided condition, that it could not be expected, England, whoſe conſiderations for uniting were peace, ſtrength, and ſhutting a back door of continual war and confuſion from the north, ſhould communicate trade, freedom of cuſtoms in all her ports and plantations, with egreſs and regreſs of manufactures, &c. and leave the main things yet precarious and uncertain.

It would be endleſs to trouble the reader here with the arguments on both ſides, which came reſolved at laſt to this ſhort head.

In the beginning of the treaty at London, the Engliſh Commiſſioners had refuſed to treat, but upon an entire and incorporating Union; and had given ſuch reaſons, why all other propoſals would not only be inſufficient, but impracticable; that the Scots Commiſſioners were convinced of it, and ſatisfied to enter upon a treaty of an entire Union,

as the only way to eſtabliſh the laſting peace and proſperity of both nations.

To talk then of a federal Union at this time ſeemed only to put the queſtion, Whether the Parliament ſhould take the articles into conſideration or no? and this run all the oppoſers back to the ſchemes of thoſe that were againſt the Union in general, and by this they loſt ground; for though they made a ſtrong oppoſition againſt the very reading the articles at all, and would gladly have rejected them in the groſs; yet there were ſeveral of their friends left them, and ſo they loſt the firſt queſtion, Whether the articles ſhould be read, which was carried in the affirmative, October 2, the firſt day of the meeting of Parliament, as will appear by the minutes.

This was the firſt ſtraight they were brought to; and therefore, to back theſe two principles, they ſet to work to procure a throng of addreſſes from the ſeveral towns; and which, it is viſible, they attempted to back with force, to awe the Parliament into a compliance, as will hereafter appear.

Moſt of theſe addreſſes were worded to the ſame purpoſe, and in ſubſtance contained a claim of the conſtituents right, to limit and inſtruct their commiſſioners—and a direction to avoid an incorporating Union; ſome of them were decently prefaced with expreſſions of courteſy to England, and willingneſs to confederate or unite with them on other terms; but proteſted againſt an incorporaton of government, as contrary to their liberties, and deſtructive to their ſovereignty and independence, the glory of their anceſtors, the honour of the ancient kingdom, and a great many ſuch plauſible allegations, in order to make the ground of their addreſſing ſeem the more ſpecious, and to pleaſe the people: Others, leſs courteous, ſpoke higher words and rougher language, talked of their defending their

Conſtitution

Conſtitution againſt the invaſion of ſtrangers, reflected on their treaters, and their being wheedled and drawn in to give up their country, their liberties, &c. We ſhall come to them preſently.

As the Parliament was now ſitting, ſo was the Commiſſion.—This is a deputation from the General Aſſembly, being a certain number of Miniſters, impowered by an act of the Aſſembly, to meet in the intervals of their ſeſſion, to take care of the affairs of the Church.

But that this account, which contains things done without doors, may run hand in hand with the tranſactions within the Parliament, it is neceſſary to give an account what was tranſacting in the Commiſſion at the ſame time, at leaſt ſo far as it relates to the preſent affair.

It is obſerved in the minutes of the 12th of October, that a motion was made in Parliament for a public faſt; which, however, was oppoſed by thoſe, that ſome thought had more inclination to the work of a public faſt, than thoſe that propoſed it; however, as the Commiſſion had been ſeveral days met, the gentlemen in Parliament, who were againſt the having a public faſt appointed by Parliament, ſeemed to refer it to the Commiſſion.

It was indeed oppoſed in the Commiſſion of the Aſſembly, for the ſame reaſons that it was in Parliament, viz. not for any diſlike of faſting and praying, but to prevent the alarming and amuſing the people, which was the principal work on foot at that time. However, not to neglect the work, or to be found oppoſing ſuch a thing as praying to God, on whatſoever account, it was moved in the Commiſſion, that they ſhould ſet apart a time for themſelves to faſt and pray, as Miniſters aſſembled on ſo great an occaſion; and that a circular letter ſhould be ſent to the ſeveral Preſbyteries to do the ſame in their ſeveral diſtricts. The act of the Commiſſion, for this

day of prayer, neither confined them to a day, or preſcribed the manner.

There had been ſtrong rumours ſpread abroad, that the Commiſſion would not act, in this caſe, without the General Aſſembly; but that they ſhould proteſt againſt the Union being concluded, till a General Aſſembly was called; and addreſs the Parliament to adjourn the debate of it, till the Aſſembly ſhould meet, which was not to meet till April: Or, that the Lords of her Majeſty's Council ſhould procure from her Majeſty, that the Aſſembly might be called ſooner.

But as this was the contrivance of a party, only to gain time, and of a piece with the delays offered at in the Houſe at the ſame time, ſo it met with no encouragement in the Commiſſion: Not but that there was too ſtrong a party willing to have befriended it, at that time, even in the Commiſſion itſelf.

However, a very moderate and well-tempered addreſs was drawn up in the Commiſſion; it was agreed to in the Commiſſion the 11th, but not preſented till the 17th; in which they recommend to the Parliament the ſecurity of the Preſbyterian Church of Scotland, and its doctrine, diſcipline, worſhip and government, to be ſecured by the treaty.

After this, the Commiſſion was again preſſed about the faſt; and more Miniſters being come to town, than were at firſt; and coming with the ſenſe of the country people freſh in their minds, who were, by this time, every where rendered very uneaſy, the motion of a faſt was renewed; and though ſome were againſt a faſt as national, yet, as no body was againſt praying to God on ſo ſolemn an occaſion, ſo the Commiſſion began with themſelves as follows:

"October 17th, It was agreed, that the Members "of the Commiſſion, with ſuch as pleaſed to join "with

" with them, ſhall convene in the High Church of " Edinburgh for prayer the day following; that the " Moderator ſhould begin with a ſhort diſcourſe " from the pulpit, concerning the occaſion and rea- " ſon of that meeting, and the Miniſters to pray, " and the orders of the exerciſe were ſettled by the " Commiſſion."

Accordingly, on the 18th, there was a very great congregation, where were preſent many Members of Parliament, and the work continued till two of the clock, very public and ſolemn; but without any of the exceſſes which ſome people flattered themſelves to find there.

However, after this, the motion for a faſt was brought on again, and carried in the Commiſſion on the 21ſt of October, as from the regiſter follows.

" There having formerly been a motion made, " for application to the Parliament for a public na- " tional faſt, the matter was this day reſumed, and " much debate about it;—the Commiſſion being " pretty full, it took longer time.—Some were for " applying to Parliament for their civil ſanction to " it; others that Preſbyteries ſhould be wrote to, " to appoint a faſt, without applying to the Parlia- " ment; becauſe it was feared the Parliament might " not be unanimous in that matter; and the men- " tioning of a faſt there might perhaps, in the pre- " ſent circumſtances, be occaſion of ſtrife: and " after long deliberation, it was unanimouſly agreed " to, that application ſhould not be made to the " Parliament; and a Committee was named to " bring in a draught of the paper about that faſt; " which Committee brought in the ſame, in form of " an act, upon the 22d of October; and, after " ſome few amendments, the ſame was unanimouſly " approved."

This faſt was obſerved in Edinburgh very ſolemnly.—His Grace, her Majeſty's Commiſſioner, the Lord

Lord Chancellor, the great Officers of State, and many Members of Parliament appeared at church, and joined in it, though the appointment had not the ſanction of the civil authority to ſupport it.—A clear proof, by the way, of the Parliament's owning the power of appointing faſts to be in the Church.

Yet was not this ſuch a general national faſt, as ſome people deſired; hoping to obtain upon the people, by the ſolemnity of the thing, and by the warmth of the Miniſters, who, they vainly expected, would, in the pulpit, run out againſt the treaty, bring the people to a general averſion againſt it; and, by conſequence, to ſome violent meaſures for preventing it.

But the prudence of the Miniſters prevented all this deſigned miſchief; and though the day was, as I have ſaid, obſerved with great ſolemnity and affection, yet it was to their great diſappointment, that the Miniſters generally, as well thoſe who were againſt the Union, as thoſe who were for it, in their reſpective pariſhes, applied themſelves only ſummarily to the ſubſtance, nay, to the very words of the Aſſembly's act, viz. "That all the determi-"nations of the Eſtates of Parliament, with reſpect "to an Union with England, might be influenced "and directed by Divine Wiſdom, to the glory of "God, the good of religion, and particularly of the "Church of Scotland."

Thus the thing was carried through, except as hereafter, without the miſchievous effect which ſome expected from it, who now began to turn their expectations another way, viz. to the people, whom they had by various arts ſcrewed up to an unexpected fermentation, as in the enſuing tumults appeared.

I am ſorry that in the proceſs of this ſtory, eſpecially in this, which I count the fouleſt and blackeſt part

part of it that could have been acted, I ſhall be obliged to mention ſome perſons of great honour and ancient families, who were pleaſed, for reaſons of their own, to act againſt the Union, and to appear ſo publicly in the oppoſition of it, that the people, I do not ſay by their own approbation, I hope not, ſingled them out as the patriots of their country againſt this tranſaction; and, by their ſhouts and huzzas after them, as they went and came to and from the Parliament, made them, as it were, the heads of the party who oppoſed the Union.

The Dukes of Hamilton and Athol were the chief of theſe, and were almoſt every day in Parliament, ſtrenuouſly arguing againſt the articles, and preſſing for other meaſures, as by the obſervations on the minutes will appear.

The Duke of Hamilton being indiſpoſed by ſome lameneſs, I cannot deſcribe the occaſion, was generally carried to and from the Houſe in his chair.

The common people now ſcrewed up to a pitch, and ripe for the miſchief deſigned, and prompted by the particular agents of a wicked party, began to be very inſolent. It had been whiſpered about ſeveral days, that the rabble would riſe, and come up to the Parliament Houſe, and cry out, No Union; that they would take away the honours, as they call them, viz. the Crown, &c. and carry them to the caſtle, and a long variety of fooliſh reports of this kind.

But the firſt appearance of any thing mobbiſh was, that every day, when the Duke went up, but principally as he came down in his chair from the Houſe, the mob followed him, ſhouting and crying out, God bleſs his Grace for ſtanding up againſt the Union, and appearing for his country, and the like.

And

And as extremes are generally accompanied with their contraries; ſo, while his Grace the Duke of Hamilton had theſe fancied honours paid him, the Queen's repreſentative, the High Commiſſioner, had all the inſults, reproaches and indignities offered him that they durſt, for fear of public juſtice, ſhew him, as will by and by appear.

Far be it from me to ſay, the Duke of Hamilton deſired or encouraged this tumultuary kind of congratulation; that ſort of popularity muſt be too much below a perſon of his character; and his Grace knows the world too well, and is too wiſe a man not to know that ſuch things always tend to confuſion, and to the deſtruction of civil peace in the world.

Nor do I doubt but his Grace did what he could to prevent their ſingling him out, to ſhew their mob-courteſy to; but there was no cruſhing a rabble that had ſo many wheels to ſet it in motion; and the ſeeming cauſes of which increaſed every day, as the Union began to draw forward, and as the Members appeared reſolved to go forward with it ſeriouſly, in order to a concluſion.

On the 22d of October, they followed the Duke's chair quite through the city, down to the Abbey gate; the guards prevented their going further; but all the way as they came back, they were heard to threaten what they would do the next day; that then they would be a thouſand times as many; that they would pull the traitors, ſo they called the treaters of the Union at London, out of their houſes, and they would ſoon put an end to the Union.

On the 23d they made part of their words good indeed; for, as the Parliament ſat ſomething late, the people gathered in the ſtreets, and about the doors of the Parliament Houſe, and particularly the Parliament Cloſe was almoſt full, that the Members could

could not go in or out without difficulty; when Duke Hamilton coming out of the Houſe, the mob huzzad as formerly, and followed his chair in a very great number. The Duke, inſtead of going down to the Abbey, as uſual, went up the High-ſtreet, to the Land-market, as they call it, and ſo to the lodgings of the Duke of Athol. Some ſaid he went to avoid the mob; others maliciouſly ſaid, he went to point them to their work.

While he went into the Duke of Athol's lodgings, the rabble attended at the door; and, by ſhouting and noiſe, having increaſed their numbers to ſeveral thouſands, they began with Sir Patrick Johnſton, who was one of the treaters, and the year before had been Lord Provoſt; firſt they aſſaulted his lodgings with ſtones and ſticks, and curſes not a few; but his windows being too high, they came up the ſtairs to his door, and fell to work at it with ſledges, or great hammers; and had they broke it open in their firſt fury, he had, without doubt, been torn in pieces without mercy; and this only becauſe he was a treater in the Commiſſion to England; for, before that, no man was ſo well beloved as he, over the whole city.

His lady, in the utmoſt deſpair with this fright, came to the window with two candles in her hand, that ſhe might be known; and cried out, for God's ſake to call the guards: an honeſt Apothecary in the town, who knew her voice, and ſaw the diſtreſs ſhe was in, and to whom the family, under God, is obliged for their deliverance, ran immediately down to the town guard; but they would not ſtir, without the Lord Provoſt's order; but that being ſoon obtained, one Captain Richardſon, who commanded, taking about thirty men with him, marched bravely up to them; making his way with great reſolution through the crowd, they flying, but throwing ſtones, and hallooing at him, and his men,

men, he ſeized the foot of the ſtair-caſe; and then boldly went up, cleared the ſtair, and took ſix of the rabble in the very act; and ſo delivered the gentleman and his family.

But this did not put a ſtop to the general tumult, though it delivered this particular family; for the rabble, by this time, were prodigiouſly increaſed, and went roving up and down the town, breaking the windows of the Members of Parliament, and inſulting them in their coaches, in the ſtreets; they put out all the lights, that they might not be diſcovered; and the author of this had one great ſtone thrown at him, but for looking out of a window; for they ſuffered nobody to look out, eſpecially with any lights, leſt they ſhould know faces, and inform againſt them afterwards.

By this time, it was about eight or nine o'clock at night, and now they were abſolute maſters of the city; and it was reported, they were going to ſhut up all the ports; the Lord Commiſſioner being informed of that, ſent a party of the foot guards, and took poſſeſſion of the Netherbow, which is a gate in the middle of the High Street, as Temple-Bar between the city of London and the court.

The city was now in a terrible fright, and every body was under concern for their friends; the rabble went raving about the ſtreets till midnight, frequently beating drums, and raiſing more people; when my Lord Commiſſioner being informed, there were a thouſand of the ſeamen and rabble come up from Leith; and apprehending, if it were ſuffered to go on, it might come to a dangerous head, and be out of his power to ſuppreſs, he ſent for the Lord Provoſt, and demanded that the guards ſhould march into the city.

The Lord Provoſt, after ſome difficulty, yielded; though it was alledged, that it was what never was known in Edinburgh before. About one o'clock in the

the morning, a battalion of the guards entered the town, marched up to the Parliament Cloſe, and took poſt in all the avenues of the city, which prevented the reſolutions taken to inſult the houſes of the reſt of the treaters.

The rabble were entirely reduced by this, and gradually diſperſed, and ſo the tumult ended.

It is not eaſy to deſcribe here, the conſternation all good people were in, at the riſing of this tumult; and had not ſuch reſolutions been at laſt taken, as is above mentioned, which the other party did not expect, it had been the fatalleſt rabble the nation had ever ſeen.

In this caſe my Lord Commiſſioner greatly diſappointed the party, who, having inſulted his Grace's lenity before, as a faintneſs of reſolution, had ſpread about ſcandalous reports, that the Government durſt not look the rabble in the face; that the High Commiſſioner was afraid of being rabbled in his palace; and that, if they once roſe in a mob, all would fly before them; that the Parliament would run away, and diſſolve themſelves, or fly to the caſtle; and another worſe thing than all, viz. that the ſoldiers were on their ſide, and would not fight againſt their country, as they called it.

But the reſolution of the Lord Commiſſioner diſappointed them all, who now ſhewed them, he had as much cheerful bravery in the action, as he had calmneſs and temper in the Parliament; this broke all their meaſures; and when they ſaw the guards, led by brave and faithful officers, ſtand firm to their duty, and ſhew themſelves reſolutely forward to defend the Government, they loſt all their courage; it defeated all their expectations, and they began to lay aſide that ſort of violent proceedings, and apply themſelves to the artifice of words, and the managery of parties in the houſe.

It

It is to be obſerved alſo, that this rabble was a mine ſprung before its time, which blew backwards, and deſtroyed the engineers, rather than the enemies; the plot being otherwiſe laid, viz. that it ſhould not have broken out, till ſome days following; when, as was ſaid, all would have been in readineſs, to have finiſhed the work at one blow, viz. to have blown up the Government at once.

They had been tampering with the ſoldiery, in order to debauch them from their duty; and ſome people talked of retiring from the Parliament, and of ſome great men heading the people; which, had their patience been more, and their conduct a little more ſecret, they had, without doubt, effectually brought it to paſs; but they blew their own project up by their precipitation, and ſo ſaved their country by their very attempt to deſtroy it.

The author of this had his ſhare of the danger in this tumult, and though unknown to him, was watched and ſet by the mob, in order to know where to find him, had his chamber windows inſulted, and the windows below him broken by miſtake. But by the prudence of his friends, the ſhortneſs of its continuance, and God's providence, he eſcaped.

Several of the rabble were ſeized upon and apprehended; and there was a diſcourſe of making examples of ſome of them; but the mercy of the High Commiſſioner, however provoked and abuſed, prevailed to compaſſionate, rather than puniſh their follies. They were only kept ſome time in priſon, and afterwards let go, without any other puniſhment.

And thus ended the moſt dangerous juncture of the whole treaty, and a tumult, which ended to the advantage of the Government, and the diſheartening the party, who, before that, carried it with ſuch an unheard-of inſolence, that had they not been

been as they thought, ſure of their cauſe, they would never have anſwered it to their own diſcretion, to have acted in ſo open and inſulting a manner.

The foot guards, and two other regiments of foot, did now conſtant duty in the city, viz. the regiments of Strathnaver and Grant; the horſe-guards attended the Commiſſioner, the other battalion of guards at the palace, and the garriſon at the caſtle.

And all was little enough; for the regiments were thin and few; and all the forces then in the kingdom, ſome independent companies in the Highlands excepted, did not exceed three thouſand men; and great endeavours were uſed, as I have ſaid, to debauch the ſoldiers, though in vain; they appearing faithful and forward to do their duty on all occaſions.

The next day the Parliament did not ſit; but a great Council was aſſembled, where the meaſures the Lord Commiſſioner had taken, as to bringing the guards into the city, were ratified and approved, and a Proclamation publiſhed for ſuppreſſing the rabble.

This Proclamation both recites the acts of Parliament in Scotland in force againſt rabbles; as alſo, is particular to that place, and very good to prevent tumults, viz. 1. Of obliging the Deacons of Crafts, that is, as in London, the Maſters of Companies, to ſummon the inhabitants, and make them give ſecurity for the behaviour of their ſervants, apprentices, &c. 2. Giving an indemnity to the ſoldiers, either of the regiments, or town-guards, in caſe they ſhould wound or kill any perſon, after a command given for all to retire from the ſtreets.

Indeed there was occaſion enough for ſuch a Proclamation; and had not the party been broken, as before, all would have been little enough to have ſuppreſſed the fury of this enraged multitude.

No

No body would undertake to juſtify the rabble, eſpecially after they had been defeated in their deſign. Every body cried out it was a dangerous thing; and the whole city might have been expoſed to plunder, riot, and all manner of diſorder.

But as the party could not juſtify the rabble, ſo they began a new clamour; and now they exclaimed, that the privileges of the city of Edinburgh were invaded, and ſoldiers brought in, to awe and oppreſs the inhabitants.

That this had not been done in ſixty years before, nor ever but in the time of war and tyrannic government; and that it was a forerunner of the ſlavery of the nation.

Then they cried out, this was an invaſion of the freedom of Parliament, and an awe upon the Members, &c. See the minutes of the 25th of October, where that matter was urged very warmly.

It is true, it had been to be wiſhed the affair could have been carried on without any jealouſies and inſults; but on the other ſide it was alledged, that the force put on the Government by the rabble, was an invaſion of the public peace; and that the mob were the aggreſſors, and the Parliament was much more likely to be awed by the ungoverned rabbles of the ſtreets, if they had gotten a-head, than by the forces brought in for their ſecurity, who being at their command, did nothing but ſecure them from the inſults of the mob, and keep that peace which the civil authority had not power to preſerve.

That the military power is always ſuppoſed to be aſſiſting to the civil, when oppreſſed by rabbles and tumults, and while in ſubſervience to the civil peace, and ſubordinate to the civil powers, the proper ſafeguard of a ſtate; and as the force of theſe arguments carried all things before them in the Houſe, all the legal pretences were overthrown by the rea-

ſon

ſon and nature of the thing, and the Parliament approved of all that had been done.

Nor did they approve it only; but ordered the guards to be continued, or recommended it to the Lord High Commiſſioner, and the Privy Council, to continue their care for the ſafety and ſecurity of the Parliament.

However, by this method the appearance of the rabbles, and fury of the ſtreets, were in ſome meaſure abated, yet the people appeared exaſperated to the laſt degree. The huzzaing and crowding about Duke Hamilton continued, notwithſtanding all his endeavours to prevent it; and unuſual threatenings and dark ſpeeches were heard among the people.

The Lords and others, who oppoſed the placing guards in the ſtreets, made proteſts againſt it, as infringing the liberties of the Parliament; though it was very plain, that there was nothing impoſed in Parliament, nothing offered to be carried, but by reaſoning and fair voting.

From this time they began to talk of country tumults; and that ſince the Commiſſioner had ſuppreſſed the mob in the town, the whole country ſhould riſe and come up to Edinburgh, and remove the guards by force from impriſoning the Parliament.

The pretence was ſpecious; they pretended the guards were a force upon the Members of Parliament; that this was cramming the Union down their throats; that the country was unanimouſly againſt it, and would not bear, that a few people in the Houſe, becauſe they had the majority within doors, and a band of ſoldiers to back them, ſhould impoſe a conjunction with England upon them, whether they would or no. Any body may judge what a time this was, when every day the town was alarmed; to-day the North was up in arms, to-morrow the Weſt; to-day ſuch a ſhire, to-morrow another, the

the next day a third; Glaſgow, Dumfries, Hamilton, Perth, all the places which the imagination of the people dictated, and the fears of others apprehended.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the conſternation of the people. Thoſe that wiſhed well to the public peace, and who ſaw, that a commotion at this time muſt immediately involve the nation in war and blood, not with England only, but with one another; theſe trembled for fear of the deſolation of their country, the blood and ruin that always attend a civil war, and the danger of the lives of themſelves and their relations.

Thoſe who looked ſeriouſly into the drift of ſome of that party who moſt eagerly puſhed on theſe diviſions, who ſaw how the intereſt of a Popiſh, a Jacobite, and a perſecuting bloody generation, lately extinguiſhed, and now full of hopes, was twiſted, and all joined in anti-union principles, could not but be heartily concerned for the eſtabliſhed religion and Proteſtant Church, which they muſt have been wilfully blind, who could not ſee was plainly ſtruck at, by the oppoſers of this treaty.

To ſee others, whoſe deſigns could not be ſuſpected of any thing to the detriment of either religion or their native country, yet joining blindly with a wicked and degenerate race, and ſeeming to approve the ſteps which were taken to the ruin and deſtruction of both; to ſee theſe ſhut their eyes againſt the plain diſcoveries of a ſtated reſolution againſt both liberty and religion, and encourage, nay in too much join with them who were known enemies both to the national Church and Proteſtant ſucceſſion; theſe I ſay were very melancholy things, when the proſpect of them was ſo near to thoſe who were ſincerely concerned for the peace of the country, and the ſafety of the reformed religon.—And people went up and down wandering and amazed, expecting

ing every day ſtrange events; afraid of peace, and afraid of war;—many knew not which way to fix their reſolutions; they could not be clear for the Union; yet they ſaw death at the door in its breaking off—Death to their liberty, to their religion, and to their country.

Here were good people of all opinions, as well as others:—Some were againſt the Union, on a principle of juſtice and honeſty, as earneſtly as others were againſt it on a principle of treachery to their country; ſome were firmly poſſeſſed, that they were under national engagements, which, in the nature of them, claſhed with the Union; and that therefore, however it might be neceſſary for the ſafety and peace of either Church or nation, they could not get over thoſe obligations, or conſent to this evil, that the other good might come; and however theſe might, in the conſequence of the thing, countenance the wicked foundation, on which the other acted; yet I cannot but do them that juſtice, that I believe, they were far from the leaſt intention to encourage the ſtrengthening a party, whoſe principle was French government, and a Popiſh ſovereign. I will not anſwer for indiſcretion, or errors in temper in ſome; neither will I be ſo unjuſt as to call every wrong ſtep an error of principle, and every miſtaken man a plotter againſt his country.

This was the unhappy divided condition of this people, at the beginning of the treaty. The diviſion was ſo general that it ſpread through every part; the gentry were divided; the common people divided; nay the very Miniſters were divided; Parliament, Aſſembly, court, city, counties, towns, nay almoſt every family were divided; and, as the event began to be feared on every ſide, people ſtood ſtrangely doubtful of one another.

The Commiſſion of the Aſſembly hitherto carried, as before noted, with a great deal of prudence and

moderation; and though there were ſome unhappy ſtruggles there, which perhaps were pointed by the ſame party at making a breach; yet, as they came to no head, and were ſoon cruſhed by the wiſdom and conduct of the reſt, I ſhall not preſerve the memory of them to poſterity: the general proceedings of that reverend body being always tempered with modeſty, calmneſs, and diſcretion, at the ſame time that they were anxiouſly concerned for the ſecurity of the foundation on which they ſtood, and had the whole weight of the Church of Scotland's ſafety upon their hands.

They had addreſſed the Parliament, that care might be taken of the Church in the treaty; and had been aſſured, they ſhould have their expectation fully anſwered.

And I cannot but remark here, that the foundation of this treaty herein appeared to have been wiſely laid;—the underſtandings and well-poiſed judgments of its firſt contrivers was very conſpicuous, in leaving the reſpective Parliaments a full liberty, ſo to eſtabliſh the ſeveral Churches, as that all the ſecurity they could demand, one againſt the other, ſhould be granted them; that every root of jealouſy might be pulled up, and there might be no room for the ſowers of diſcord to begin here, where they always uſed to begin, and from whence all the miſchiefs of former diſſenſion uſed to flow.

The Parliament had alſo been encouraged by the Queen, in her Majeſty's letter, at the opening this ſeſſion, to form ſuch ſecurity for the Church-government, as might fully eſtabliſh the national Church of Scotland; for the Queen having, by long experience, and the former contention on both ſides, ſeen that an Union of principles was no more to be expected:—but plainly ſeeing alſo, that with the aſſiſtance of mutual charity, that difference in principle might be conſiſting with an Union of

intereſts

intereſts and affection among her people, ſaw, at the ſame time, that the only way to eſtabliſh this peace was, to form ſuch ſecurities to both Churches, as might for ever remove all juſt ground of jealouſies from among them, take away the ſuſpicions, and ſhut all the doors againſt the fears, which either had entertained of each other; and which wicked men daily took hold of, as handles of contention, to keep open an eternal breath, and keep us always divided, Ephraim againſt Judah, and Judah againſt Ephraim, ever vexing and envying one another.

In this poſture, I ſay, ſtood the affairs of the Church; when, in the interval of time between the firſt addreſs to the Parliament and the ſecond reading of the articles, an overture, or draught of an act for the Church, was conceived, and preſented to the Houſe.

I ſhall not enter into a long debate which aroſe here, both without doors and within, 1. As to the ſufficiency and inſufficiency, of the overture, which, in ſome part, may be anſwered, by ſaying, it received ſome amendments or additions afterwards, at the paſſing into an act. Or, 2. As to any act of Parliament being a ſufficient ſecurity for the Church; that objection being raiſed at firſt, not by ſuch as deſigned a better ſecurity, but by ſuch as really deſigned no ſecurity at all, for the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment in this nation: it is hard, that we muſt be forced to diſtinguiſh the diſputes in this caſe, by diſtinguiſhing the perſons; for there being ſeveral parties here, and of ſeveral principles, who all ſeemed to make but one party againſt the Union, it was abſolutely neceſſary to examine who was for this, or that argument and, by the man, the reaſon of his argument, was to be diſtinguiſhed.

This unriddled the myſtery, which appeared in the debates of this time, when thoſe that had really leaſt kindneſs for the Church, were the loudeſt, and

appeared the moſt zealous for her ſecurity: nay, thoſe that never owned or acknowledged either her diſcipline, or government, never ſubmitted to her judicatories, or joined with her worſhip, were now every day crying out of want of ſecurity, expoſing the Church to the votes of the Biſhops in the Britiſh Parliament, and giving the Epiſcopal Church of England the aſcendant over the Preſbyterian Church of Scotland.

This language could be no otherwiſe underſtood, but by diſtinguiſhing the people that ſpoke it; the very party were hieroglyphics to the dialect; and he muſt be blinder than moſt people are, in this intelligent age, that could imagine theſe people ſpoke this from a true deſign to obtain for the Church a further or better ſecurity, ſo much as to embarraſs the Church and the State, embroil the Parliament with the Commiſſion; and either prevent its being finiſhed at all, or obtain what they generally drove at in all their managements now in the affair, and which was the only thing they could hope in, I mean, a delay.

But to leave this matter a while, the Parliament was all this time reading over the articles, and diſcourſing or reaſoning upon them, but had not yet come to any vote; the tumult at Edinburgh was blown over, without the expected event; we ſhall now ſee, that it was not in Edinburgh alone, that a tumult was deſigned, but ſteps were taken, and indeed politicly enough, to have the general ſenſe of the kingdom to run in the ſame channel.

To this end, addreſſes were ſet on foot, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, againſt the Union: I ſhall not pretend to crowd this book with the particular addreſſes, though ſome of them are remarkable enough; however, I ſhall give ſpecimens of ſome of them to judge from, and to make the matter, as I go along, the plainer.

And,

And, among them, I cannot omit one from the convention of the Royal Boroughs; becauſe ſome gentlemen, eſpecially in England, having valued their opinion from thence, as if it were the ſenſe of the whole nation, it is a little neceſſary, towards clearing up this point, that though the people were ſcrewed up to a moſt unexpected, and indeed unaccountable averſion; yet that, in the whole, the main body of the nation did not run the length which ſome of their leaders deſired of them, and which they would have had paſſed as their act and deed.

The Royal Boroughs have a cuſtom in Scotland, that they act in a body, and have a convention, or repreſentative of their own, which meets upon occaſion at Edinburgh, and are convened by the Lord Provoſt of Edinburgh: to this convention every Borough ſends one Member, and the Borough of Edinburgh two; their whole repreſentative is ſixty-ſix in number. Now the calculation which was obſervable here, was in the number and quality of the Boroughs, which voted in the convention; the addreſs was carried by four voices indeed, but the ſtate of the caſe is thus: Of ſixty-ſix Boroughs, twenty voted againſt addreſſing, and twenty-four for it; the reſt were abſent. But take the quality of the Boroughs, to make the calculation by, and there the thing will diſcover itſelf as follows:

Take the Boroughs that refuſed to addreſs, and theſe that did not think it worth their while to appear; and the majority againſt the addreſſers, is, by the proportion of their ceſs, as eighty-ſix to fourteen. Nay, ſuppoſe all thoſe that did not appear to be affirmatives, though that be altogether improbable, and that they would have been for the addreſs, yet the proportion had been, as thirty-one to ſixty-nine.

But

But if the rate of the ceſs be not a juſt eſtimate of the value of the Boroughs, though I can prove it was the original of their right of being Boroughs; then I refer to any man to calculate the inhabitants and number of free-men in each Borough, and he will find the twenty Boroughs that refuſed to addreſs, have more inhabitants in them, than both the twenty-four that addreſſed. and the twenty two that were abſent, the city of Edinburgh excepted.

So that, upon the foot of this calculation, though the addreſs may legally be called the addreſs of the Boroughs; yet it did not follow, that the trading part of the nation had addreſſed, or were againſt the Union; for that, in an arithmetical calculation, or a calculation upon value and payment of taxes, the far greater number oppoſed the very addreſſing at all.

This is obſerved here, in order to clear up a point hereafter, which will require a like kind of calculating on the foot of the whole nation.

The Boroughs however, by this ſeeming majority, did addreſs; and becauſe the ſaid addreſs is very particular, and contains in it all the popular arguments, which the enemies of the treaty had blinded the people with, as before; particularly of the ſurrendering the ſovereignty and independency of the nation, and ſubjecting their religion, church-government, claim of right, laws, liberties, and trade, to be altered or ſubverted by the Engliſh in a Britiſh Parliament.

I cannot, I confeſs, but wonder how it was poſſible to impoſe things ſo abſurd upon a whole nation! And how ſo great a people, ſo clear-ſighted, and wary in all other caſes, came at this time to run ſo apparently upon a plain miſtake! Since, as nothing is more plain than that the articles of the treaty, and conſequently the great heads mentioned in the above addreſs, cannot be touched by the Parliament

of

of Britain; and that the moment they attempt it, they diſſolve their own Conſtitution; ſo it is an Union upon no other terms, and is expreſsly ſtipulated what ſhall, and what ſhall not be alterable by the ſubſequent Parliaments. And as the Parliaments of Britain are founded, not upon the original right of the people, as the ſeparate Parliaments of England and Scotland were before, but upon the treaty which is prior to the ſaid Parliament, and conſequently ſuperior; ſo, for that reaſon it cannot have power to alter its own foundation, or act againſt the power which formed it, ſince all conſtituted power is ſubordinate, and inferior to the power conſtituting.

This is ſo clear, and has been ſo often inculcated in this very caſe, and is ſo unanſwerably ſtated in the very acts of Parliament themſelves, ratifying the treaty, that I need ſay no more to it here.

But it was a ſtrange time now, and there was no making the leaſt impreſſion upon the minds of the people, already prepoſſeſſed. Nothing was to be heard now, but of ſlavery to the Engliſh—running away with the crown—taking away their nation, and the like: and it was impoſſible to ſtem this tide of diſtraction for a time. It is true that the generality of the people came off from this deluſion at laſt; and the unalterableneſs of the Union, if finiſhed, began to obtain a little upon the ſenſes of the people. The truth is, the demonſtration of the thing was ſo viſible, that it could not but prevail; and the beſt and moſt judicious beginning to ſee into it, the reſt of the people began to ſink under the power of the conviction, and ſo by degrees the ſcruple began to wear off.

Nay, the ſame people who firſt argued againſt this truth, viz. Of the Parliament of Britain's not being able to invade the treaty, took it up themſelves afterwards, when it ſerved their turn, and ſtrongly urged

it

it againſt conſenting to the church-eſtabliſhment on the Engliſh ſide, ſince it was a confirming the Epiſcopal power, and ſetting it above the power of a Parliament to pull down. So freely will men accept of an argument when it ſerves their occaſion, which they will reject while it ſeems to oppoſe their intereſt.

In the ruins of this ſuggeſtion, another ſtarted up; which, as it was capable of being embarraſſed with greater doubts, and with ſome had inſuperable difficulties; ſo, had not the moderation of the miniſters interpoſed, it might have been of far worſe conſequence in this caſe; and this was a ſcruple againſt the Union in groſs, as being directly againſt, and inconſiſtent with the Covenant; and that therefore it could not be entered into, without incurring the guilt of national perjury.

This brought the Church into the general appearance againſt the treaty; nor will I ſay but that great means were uſed, if poſſible, to bring the Commiſſion then ſitting, to declare againſt the Union upon this account.

This was a great trial of ſkill; and I ſay this roſe out of the ruins of the other ſcruple, becauſe it was forcibly enough alledged, that if the conſtitution of this treaty was ſuch, that no alteration could be ſuffered, and that not the Parliament of Britain could infringe one article of it, then this for ever ſhut the door againſt the poſſibility of their aſſiſting to reform the Church of England, which they alledged, by their Covenant, they were bound to uſe all lawful endeavours to perform.

This, and ſubmitting to the juriſdiction of the Biſhops in England, and who were to ſit ſtill in the Britiſh Parliament, and thereby owning the agency of ſpiritual men in civil employments, they alſo alledged was againſt the Covenant; and conſequently, if the nation went into this Union, they incurred directly

directly the guilt of national perjury; and I allow, that a great many good and valuable people were very melancholy upon this head, and ſome are not eaſy in it to this hour.

I cannot paſs this thing here, without ſpeaking to it: becauſe I forſee daily diſputes do ſtill ariſe upon this head, and are like to do ſo every day, and I ſhall not interrupt the thread of the ſtory by it at all; rather it will ſeem neceſſary to be conſidered, in order to carry on the courſe of the ſtory, ſome of which, particularly at this very juncture, very much depends upon it.

I am not at all entering here upon the obligation of the ſeveral Covenants engaged in by the people of Scotland; it is neceſſary here, for argument ſake, to allow them to be obligatory in as large a ſenſe as can be deſired.

As to the being obliged to reform the Church of Chriſt, in the whole iſland, it is granted here by the moſt ſevere aſſertors of the Covenant's obligation.

1. That, as is expreſſed, they are to uſe all lawful means only; and that they are not to uſe any ſuch thing as force.

And the Reverend Doctor Rule, a divine of great candour and learning, and Principal of the college of Edinburgh, has ſtated this obligation very diſtinctly, as follows:

"What we are bound to by the Covenant, is not "to reform them, but to concur with them, when "lawfully called, to advance reformation; and it "is far from our thought to go beyond that boun-"dary, in being concerned in their affairs; we "wiſh their reformation, but leave the managing "of it to themſelves." Doctor Rule's ſecond Vindication of the Church of Scotland, p. 16.

Now I think nothing is more clear, than that there is all the room in the world for the Church of Scotland

Scotland to concur in a national reformation, notwithſtanding the Union; nay, they will be better qualified for it now than ever; in ſo far as they will, I hope, always have the aſſiſtance of all good men in the South, both diſſenters and churchmen, to encourage them.

As to the civil power of churchmen, or in Engliſh, the Biſhops voting in Parliament, and its being declared againſt in the Covenant; I will not diſpute the ſuggeſtion, whether it be againſt the Covenant or no; the diſcord lies here.

One party ſays, it is expreſsly againſt the Covenant; and that the yielding to it, and yielding to have the Church of England eſtabliſhed by the treaty, is ſetting up that very power they were ſworn to reform to the utmoſt of their power, in all lawful means; and theſe are the particulars in which, they ſay, the Union is a breach upon the Covenant, and has brought the nation into the dreadful ſin of public perjury.

The other ſay,

1. They are not guilty of national perjury; for that they conceive, the Union does no way oblige them further, than as before, in the ſenſe of Doctor Rule, to concur with all lawful methods for reformation, and to cloſe with all opportunities, which ſhall be put into their hands for the purpoſe; and this they are yet as free to do as before.

2. As to their conſenting to the Act for the Security, &c. of the Church of England, it is not againſt the Covenant, ſince it is not erecting a church; nay, it is not in the leaſt a recognizing or acknowledging them that are erected; but it is a letting that be which was before, and which they had no lawful call (the thing expreſsly mentioned in the Covenant) to concern themſelves in altering. They were not legally called to it, for they were legally,

at

at this time, excluded on either ſide, from medling in the reſpective ſettlements of the Church, by the Queen's power,

And, at laſt, they alledge, that in ſo far as the Covenant engages them againſt the civil power of churchmen, they did exonerate themſelves fairly, in their public proteſt againſt the votes of the Biſhops, viz. The Repreſentation and Petition, rejecting as far as in them lies all ſubmiſſion to their ſaid power; and that they conceive, being not called to any other oppoſition, they have fully diſcharged their duty as a nation, and have to the utmoſt of their power oppoſed it.

I think this a clear though a ſhort ſtate of the queſtion; and ſome of the moſt conſcientious and pious of both Miniſters and people, on one ſide, thought the caſe of the Covenant clear in this point.

I know there are others diſſatisfied ſtill, of whom I have only this to ſay: If they are certain it is a national crime, I wiſh they would apply themſelves to national humiliation, and be found of them that ſtand in the gap, to prevent God's judgments, rather than forgetting that part, fill the days with their complaint of the ſin, and only apply it to make the people uneaſy at the occaſion.

The Union is finiſhed: even breaking it again, if that were in their power, would not undo the crime, if it be one; and would at the ſame time involve their country in a thouſand calamities, blood and diſtreſſes.

I cannot be ſo uncharitable as to think, any man that raiſes the ſcruple we are now upon, would be willing to be thought to be moving the nation to break this new and moſt ſolemn conjunction, and fall all to pieces again: I would then aſk, To what end are public exclamations and excurſions of the tongue about it? They can tend to nothing but to keep the

the people in a continual alarm, keep their minds in a conſtant perturbation and uneaſineſs; and it is a ſad work for any man to be employed in, merely to diſturb and diſtract his country.

While theſe things were debating at Edinburgh, the affair grew ſtill darker and darker all over the kingdom; and they were far from carrying it with equal temper and moderation in other places.

In the Weſt, the people called Cameronians began to be apprehended as dangerous, and that cloud was diligently repreſented as very black; that, according to the raſh wiſhes of ſome people, whoſe endeavours too had not been wanting, they would fall into ſome deſperate action or other on this account;—the prejudices againſt the Union had reached them very early; nor was it to be ſuppoſed that thoſe people who were ſo diligent to alarm the country every where againſt the Union, and poſſeſſed them with fears and jealouſies of their liberties, trade, crown, and religion, would fail to fall to work in theſe parts, where they muſt needs know, the general character of the people was, to be tenacious of their opinions; and ſo far from being always preſcribed by the moſt prudent and moderate councils. As to other places, the arguments were ſuited to the people; as to ſome the loſs of trade, to others taxes, to theſe the liberty, to thoſe the ſovereignty of the nation, ſo to theſe the great pretence uſed was religion, the danger of, not the Church, for that many of them did not ſubmit to or acknowledge, but religion in general, and theſe two heads in particular—the return of prelacy, and the breach of the Covenant; however, they had all the very ſame things in their allegations.

In carrying on the deſign of enſlaving theſe poor people, great artifice was uſed; and, as if they had been prepared for the deſign before-hand, they wait-

ed

ed till the articles were printed, which were formed by the treaters in England, and the ſeveral minutes of the treaty.

When theſe were ſeen, a number of theſe people got together; and though they were not the number by far, as was diligently reported, in order to make them formidable; yet the beginning might have been dangerous enough if it had been puſhed on further; what number they might really be in other places, I could never learn ſo particularly, as to venture aſſerting it: but about two hundred men, in a tumultuous manner came to the town of Dumfries, a ſeaport on the weſt ſide of Scotland, about twenty-eight miles from Carliſle; they came into the town in the middle of the day, on the twentieth of November, made a fire in the market-place, burnt the articles of the Union, and burnt a paper with the names of the Commiſſioners of the treaty, and fixed another paper of their own upon the croſs; and having done thus, they marched off and diſperſed themſelves peaceably.

This paper indeed was no leſs ſeditious in its nature, than the attempt was inſolent and daring.

When the report came to Edinburgh of this tumult, the concern of thoſe who wiſhed well to their country, was very great, and wiſe men began to give the deſign of the treaty for loſt; they knew the unhappy temper of thoſe honeſt people, for ſuch, however, I muſt call them, becauſe I believe their intention is religious and honeſt, though they may be miſtaken, and, no doubt, are miſtaken in their principles, about government and obedience; but, as they knew, I ſay, the temper of theſe people, how tenacious of their own ſentiments, and how precipitant in their proſecution, it bred no ſmall concern in the minds of all people, who were inclined to peace; concluding, that the party, who

oppoſed

oppoſed the Union from worſe principles, had gained their point, viz. to employ the hands of Proteſtants, one againſt another, in this diſpute, and make the honeſt-meaning, but warm people, the tools to ruin both themſelves and their country.

There were not wanting, at the ſame time, people, who diligently ſpread extravagant rumours of the numbers of theſe people; ſome ſaid, that there were ſix thouſand men in arms at the place; others, that two thouſand horſe only came into the town; and that five thouſand foot ſtood ready, in the hill country, to march with them, as occaſion ſhould require: others, that the whole body of them were up; and that the whole Weſt was in arms, and at leaſt twelve thouſand of them were to march for Edinburgh, to raiſe the Parliament; and that they had publicly declared, they would ſacrifice the treaters, as betrayers of their country, and ſellers of her liberty and ſovereignty.

To back theſe reports, the paper they fixed up at Dumfries was officiouſly printed; and at the end of it, a poſtſcript, ſignifying, that this paper was publicly read from the Market Croſs at Dumfries, about one of the clock in the afternoon, on the twentieth of November, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſix, with great ſolemnity, in the audience of many thouſands; the fire being ſurrounded with double ſquadrons of horſe and foot in martial order.

The printing of this paper was reſented by the Government, and the printer fled from their hands for the preſent; but this, as all other inſults of this nature, were no farther proſecuted, the Government chooſing rather to pity and overlook the follies of the people, on this occaſion, as what they ſaw was politicly enflamed by a party, who only ſought to embroil the nation, and bring the beſt of the people

to

to fall out with one another, that the game might be made up out of the deſtruction of both.

By this poſtſcript above, may appear to any unbiaſſed perſon, the artifice made uſe of to magnify every ſtory, to increaſe the terror of the people, and, if poſſible, to encourage the like confuſions in other places; for, as to the fact, 'tis true, there were a rabble of country people, to the number as above, of about two hundred; I could never find that they deſerved to be called more; that there was any ſuch thing as ſquadrons or companies, either of horſe or foot, or any martial order, ſuch as officers or commanders, or any thing like troops, was a manifeſt forgery, on purpoſe to amuſe the nation, and make the people believe what they really had ſome ground to fear.

I muſt alſo do thoſe people in the Weſt this juſtice, that, though great endeavours had been uſed to exaſperate them, and they were heartily againſt the Union, as appeared, upon all occaſions; but when they came to ſee a little into the hands that were at work againſt it, and with whom they were like to join, even the hotteſt among them came to themſelves, and to give them their due, they behaved with great calmneſs and diſcretion; nor could they be brought into any precipitations or extravagancies, as was daily threatened; Mr. John Hepburn, their chief leader and Miniſter, had been reflected on as one that had enflamed and animated them to riſe and take arms, and that had been ſaid to threaten the Parliament; when he was diſcourſed with by ſome, who were under concern for the public peace, it diſcovered the frauds and falſities of thoſe ſuggeſtions, and how they were ſpread about to ſerve the great end of the public diſorders, and only amuſe the world; for he declared himſelf readily, that indeed they had apprehenſions, that the Union would be prejudicial to them; that they did not like the articles,

articles, and thought the treaters had not done their duty, and the like; but that, as to their having any deſign to diſturb the Government or to appear in arms, it was an abuſe upon them; they had no ſuch thought, nor ſhould they do any thing, but in a national way; much leſs would they adhere to, or encourage the deſigns of a Jacobite French party, whom he declared they abhorred, and would never join with.

I think this is a plain demonſtration of the truth of what I have alledged all along this ſtory, viz. that there was a buſy party, who run through the whole country, by all poſſible artifice to agitate and diſturb the minds of the peaceable people, and, if poſſible, to bring them firſt to miſtaken notions about, and averſions to the Union in general, and then to purſue thoſe averſions, by all poſſible methods of diſtraction and confuſion; and that this might bring the honeſt and well-meaning people of the nation, either by their numbers and intereſt, to overthrow the treaty; or, by their folly and miſcarriage, to overthrow themſelves, and ſo to weaken both.

But God's goodneſs to this innocent people diſappointed them here, and we never found the leaſt tumult or diſorder on this ſide afterward, to the particular mortification of the party that hoped for worſe things from them.

The declaration therefore, or proteſt, which they poſted up at Dumfries, and which the party handed about at Edinburgh, as a great inſtance of what they hoped for from them, is rather publiſhed here as an example of the notions they had poiſoned the minds of the people with, than as the ſenſe of the nation, in the caſe of the Union, and a ſketch of what they endeavoured to obtain from all the reſt.

We are now, in the proceſs of this affair, come on to the middle of November. I muſt deſire the reader to go back a little to the Parliament. They had

had begun to read the articles the ſecond time, in order to vote on them. The beginning was a remarkable debate, and held for ſeveral days, as will appear in the minutes.

The firſt article was like putting the previous queſtion, viz. Whether there ſhould be an Union with England, in the ſenſe of the preſent articles, or no: that is, whether there ſhould be an incorporate Union of the nation into one kingdom, to have but one Name, Head, Signature, Conſtitution and Parliament, yea, or no.

The manner of this queſtion, and the difficulty with which it was carried in the Houſe, I refer to the minutes, folio . But I cannot but obſerve one ſignificant omen of the future good ſucceſs of this treaty, and which, I muſt own, very much encouraged me to think it would go on, notwithſtanding all the vigorous oppoſition it met with, was, that it was voted on the moſt remarkable day for public deliverance, that ever happened to this iſland. I am as far from laying any ſtreſs on ſuch inſignificant circumſtances, as any man; and I know they can have no efficiency in the bringing to paſs the mighty events, which may be uſhered ſo into the world; and therefore I beſpeak the reader to note this, not as a thing I lay any real weight upon.

And yet it was impoſſible to obſerve, without ſome emotion of the mind, and without ſome preſage of the good iſſue of this matter, that the firſt article, being the great and eſſential part of the Union, was voted and approved on that remarkable 4th day of November, which was made happy to Britain, firſt, by the birth of the great and immortal King William, to whom theſe nations owe ſo much, that they cannot look on the Church reſtored, the bloody perſecuting race of tyrants abdicated and fled, cruelty and prelacy dethroned, and all the miſchiefs of a ruined nation vaniſhed, and not bleſs the memory

of that great agent of God's goodneſs to them, without remarkable ingratitude both to God himſelf the original, and to that glorious inſtrument of our felicity, the King. Nor was it this alone which rendered this day remarkable to us, but alſo that the great and remarkable Revolution of Britain, formed in, and founded upon the expedition of the ſame King William, bears date from this time, being the day which he firſt arrived in Torbay, in the Weſt of England.

It could not but be a pleaſant reflection to thoſe who remembered the particulars of theſe things, to find, that without any previous calculation, or direction of men, the concurrence of cauſes ſhould ſo effectually jump, for the bringing to paſs the moſt remarkable tranſactions of Britain's eſtabliſhment on the ſame day, that her deliverance from tyranny, and the many oppreſſions of a cruel and barbarous generation, that aimed at ſuppreſſing the foundations of liberty, and overthrowing the conſtitution of both kingdoms; and her deliverance from private antipathies, the peace of her inhabitants, and the great conjunction, we hope, of the hearts and affections of two nations, which for many years had been filled with the moſt fatal and inveterate averſions, ſhould take their riſe together, and date their beginning both on the ſame fourth of November; and both on that very day when the great inſtrument of her deliverance, by whom ſhe was put in a condition to bring all the reſt to paſs, was born into the world. Happy day! Happy to Britain! Happy to all Europe! Since the events of this birth, the actions of Heaven in the hand of this Prince, have been the foundation of all the glorious things which have ſince happened in Europe, and of the humbling the great thunderer of this age, who had eſtabliſhed his kingdom in the deſtruction of the liberties of Europe,

Europe, and in a view of the ſubverſion of the Proteſtant religion.

It was on this happy day that the firſt article of the Union was paſſed in the Parliament, after infinite ſtruggles, clamour, railing, and tumult of a party, who, however they endeavoured to engage the honeſt ſcrupulous part of the people with them, yet gave this eminent diſcovery of the principles of their own actings, in that there was an intire conjunction of the Jacobite, the Prelatic, and the Popiſh intereſt, in this particular; and the very diſcovery of this opened the eyes of a great many people, who, in the ſimplicity of their hearts, had joined in the general oppoſition to the Union; but when they ſaw the tendency of things, and whither it all led, when they ſaw the ſociety they were going to embark with; when they ſaw the enemies of the Proteſtant ſettlement all engaged, and theſe very people who had filled the land with the groans of oppreſſion, and the cries of blood, coming to join hands with them, againſt an Union with England; when they ſaw, that to ſhun an Union with Chriſtians, they were, of neceſſity, to come into an Union with Devils; men that had transformed themſelves into the very infernal nature, and viſibly acted from principles, in this particular diabolical, in that they tended to erect the abſolute ſubjection of nations to the luſt, and unbounded appetites of lawleſs tyrants; when they ſaw theſe things ſo plainly, we then found an alteration; and the beſt, the moſt thinking, and moſt judicious people, began firſt to ſtop and conſider, and afterward wholly to withdraw from the party; and the clamour of the people, as if come to a criſis, began not to be ſo univerſal, but to abate; and the more it did ſo, the more the ſecret party, who lay at the bottom of all the reſt, began to appear and diſtinguiſh themſelves.

The firſt article being paſt, the hopes of the party depended upon debating the matters of taxes, exciſes, cuſtoms; and, as far as poſſible, ſetting up the popular arguments of care for the poor, the impoſſibility of paying duties, the incapacity of the trade to ſupport exciſes and cuſtoms, and the like; and here they had recourſe from one ſhift to another, and like true ſoldiers, though in a bad cauſe, they fought their ground by inches.

From article to article, they diſputed every word, every clauſe, caſting difficulties and doubts in the way of every argument, twiſting and turning every queſtion, and continually ſtarting objections to gain time; and, if poſſible, to throw ſome unſurmountable obſtacle in the way.

The conſequence of this was making amendments to the articles; nor was it a ſmall diſappointment to them, when they ſaw the Parliament willing to come into amendments; and when, by the prudence of the Committee appointed to make calculations and examine thoſe already made, it appeared that their objections were either anſwered and confuted, or the clauſes ſo rectified and amended, as that they had no more room to faſten any of their cavils: they were entirely defeated, and the diſaſter was particular in this: that it ſhewed ſtill the more plainly to the world, that their deſign was not to be ſatisfied in the amendment and alteration of what they objected againſt, but in having ſomething to demand that would not or could not have been reconciled.

This cauſed a great many trifling emendations to paſs, which, in themſelves, had not ſignification enough either to deſerve the name of objections or to need any diſputing.

It is evident the deſign was to load the treaty with a multitude of amendments, among which, it was to be hoped, ſome might be found which the Parliament of England would ſcruple; or, at leaſt, that

it

it would be a precedent for the Parliament of England to conſider the treaty and make more amendments; which being to come down to Scotland again, to be conſidered here, would bring another ſitting on of courſe; when, by delays, the time fixed to the firſt of May might be elapſed, the ſeaſon of the year advance, which hitherto had not favoured them for the riots and tumults of the country; and, in this delay, they might find further advantages.

How their future actions conformed to this ſuggeſtion, and how they were in every ſtep diſappointed, is the next thing to be diſcourſed on;—but I muſt adjourn it a little and return to the affairs of the Church, which were at this time in equal agitation proportionably conſidered; and the party who oppoſed the Union uſed all poſſible artifice to bring things into confuſion there, in which they diſcovered a double miſchief in their deſign; 1. To bring to paſs the grand deſign of obſtructing the treaty; and, 2. If poſſible, to make the diſorders they aimed at take their riſe in the Church's diſſatisfactions; by which laſt thing two other ends would have been obtained.

1. They would have fixed the ſcandal of all the conſequences, even of their own raſheſt actions, upon the Church.

2. They would have drawn in multitudes of zealous, but innocent people, to have puſhed on their deſigns blindly, imagining they had been acting for the Church.

But, as before, ſo even now, the prudence and ſteadineſs of the Miniſters in the commiſſion of the Aſſembly, defeated all the wicked deſigns of this party; for though there were in the commiſſion a great many Miniſters who were ſincerely and heartily againſt the Union, yet they were not to be drawn in to act with ſo much imprudence as the projects

projects of that party designed; and therefore, whatever heat or unhappy warmth at several times happened there, and which at one time was feared would have gone higher, yet the temper and sincerity of the main body, both Ministers and Elders, always over ruled, and, in good time, suppressed it.

I have already given you the address which the Commission of the Assembly gave in to the Parliament, in order to obtain a security for the Church. This address effectually answered the end of the Ministers, in that it obtained a vote in Parliament, November 2, viz. That immediately after the first article of the Union was voted, the Parliament will proceed to an act for the security of the doctrine, discipline, worship, and government of the Church, as now by law established within this kingdom.

All this time an overture or a draught of an act, intituled, *An Act for the security of the true Protestant Religion and the Government of the Church, as by law established within this kingdom*, was read and ordered to be printed.

While this overture was preparing in the Parliament, and after it was printed, there were no small endeavours used to possess the minds of the people, that it was not a sufficient security for the Church.

There had been some suggestions spread, that the Parliament would put them off, without effectually securing the Church; and all possible care was taken to improve this notion, and the people were agitated on that head, as much as possible: Some said, the overture ought to have been drawn up by the Commission, not by the Parliament; and that it was leading them on in the dark, with a general vote, that an act should be passed, without letting the Church judge what was sufficient for her security, and what not.

It

It was argued againſt this, that the Commiſſion had mentioned in their addreſs, the heads in which they ought to be ſecured; and there was no doubt but the Parliament would make that addreſs the foundation of the Act of Security; that, if there was any thing wanting, they would have time enough to renew their addreſs, for the adding ſuch things, as they judged reaſonable; and that therefore they ought to ſtay, and not interfere with the proceedings of the Parliament, whoſe proper work it was, to prepare their own acts.

But this did not ſatisfy ſome people, who inſiſting on the Commiſſions concerning themſelves in it; the Committee for public affairs moved, October 25, in the Commiſſion, that ſome Members might be appointed, to ſee what the Parliament Men had prepared for the ſecurity of the Church.

This was the time, in which the debates in the Commiſſion run higheſt, and when ſome of the Elders, taking offence at the warmth of ſome of the Miniſters, withdrew themſelves from the Commiſſion; but wiſer and more moderate heads interpoſed, and prevented the ill conſequences of theſe things, as will afterwards appear.

Upon inſpecting the overture for ſecurity of the Church, and viewing the proviſion made there for ſuch ſecurity, the members of the Commiſſion, who were appointed as above, reported, that there were ſome difficulties remaining, which they deſired might be conſidered.

Theſe difficulties began a warm debate in the Committee of the Commiſſion, which were reported as conſidered by the Committee, and are as follows:

1ſt. That it would ſeem, that the Sovereign of Great Britain, in the coronation oath, is to be ſworn to maintain the rights and privileges of the Church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, without any reſpect to the Church of Scotland. 2dly, That by the

the oath of abjuration taken in England, obliging to maintain the limitations of the ſucceſſion, and qualification of the ſucceſſor to the crown, the taker ſeems to be obliged to endeavour, to the utmoſt, the ſecluſion even of ſuch Proteſtants from the crown of Great Britain, who are not of the communion of the Church of England, as now by law eſtabliſhed there. 3dly, Several difficulties being propoſed, with relation to oaths, it was diſcourſed, how a bar may be put to the Britiſh Parliament's impoſing oaths upon the Miniſtry and people of Scotland, inconſiſtent with the principles of this Church. 4thly, That the people of Scotland may be exempted from the ſacramental teſt, in uſe in England, which ſecludes all from any office in Britain, or benefit from the Crown thereof, who are of the communion of the Church of Scotland; and ſome other things, which was thought, might be uneaſy, and of dangerous conſequence to this Church, if not provided againſt in the concluſion of the Union: and theſe things being diſcourſed upon at great length, were again referred to the Committee for the public affairs of the Church, to be further conſidered, and they to report.

The Committee, to whom this affair was referred, reported, that they have had ſeveral meetings, and diſcourſed at great length upon the four particulars relating to the Union, and heard ſeveral Miniſters and others upon their ſcruples thereanent; and likewiſe upon a fifth particular, that the conſtitution of the Britiſh Parliament, where twenty-ſix Biſhops do ſit as members, ſeems to be inconſiſtent both with the principles of Preſbyterians, and the covenants and engagements of this Church and nation.

It would be too long to ſet down here, how the Commiſſion was duly beſieged with clamours and cries, raiſed upon the jealouſies of the people: and how

how they were urged to all manner of improper reſentment, upon the allegations now raiſed againſt the ſecurity of the Church, as it was offered in the overture.

I ſhall forbear entering here into any of the heats and indecencies which paſſed upon this debate, ſince they came to no extraordinary height; and the wiſdom and forbearance on both ſides, prevented the evil conſequences which ſome hoped for from them.

The ſecond addreſs of the Commiſſion had its birth in theſe diſputes; and though the enemies of the Union expected great things from it, yet, as it came out quite another thing than they deſigned, having been reduced to ſhape, and ſtripped of all its monſtrous figure, in which it was expected to come into the world, it had two conſequences, which ſerved to aſſiſt even againſt the party that promiſed themſelves ſo much good from it.

1ſt, It convinced the world, that however it was ſpread abroad, that the Commiſſion would violently oppoſe the paſſing the act of ſecurity, as a thing of no conſequence, and ſo put a full ſtop to the work; it was evident, the Commiſſion was not to be blinded by out-ſides, nor ſcrewed up by parties; but that calm and clear-ſighted, they would go on, in all caſes, with the ſame gravity, conſideration and temper, which they had ſhown from the beginning.

2dly, It obviated the great debate about the Church here ſubmitting to the Epiſcopal juriſdiction of the Church of England, or to the votes and ſuffrages of the Biſhops in the Britiſh Parliament; in that though they did not interfere or preſcribe to the Parliament; yet they exonerated their conſciences, and the whole Church of Scotland, by making, as it were, a proteſt againſt it, as what they would not be underſtood to comply with, either

either now, or by any action in time coming, which ſhould be the conſequence of the Union.

Thus the difficulties, though reſolved to be preſented to the Parliament, yet came out in a modeſt and humble dreſs, ſuitable to the dignity as well as diſtance of the Aſſembly, to which and from which it was preſented; and yet it came out in a dreſs which ſome gentlemen of the Commiſſion, particularly of the ruling Elders, did not approve of.

Some would have had this addreſs been called a proteſt, but the moderation of that Reverend Aſſembly cruſhed that motion; and, after ſome debate, it obtained the title of the repreſentation and petition, and was reſolved on in the Commiſſion the 8th of November, and the ſame day preſented to the Parliament.

When this paper was agreed on in the Commiſſion, the Earls of Rothes and Marchmont, Lords Polwarth and Forglen, Sir James Campbell, the Lairds of Jerviſwood and Ardkinlaſs younger, and ſeveral other gentlemen, who ſat there as ruling Elders, declared their diſſent, and entered their proteſt againſt it, taking inſtruments in the hands of the Clerk of the Commiſſion, and promiſed to give in the reaſons of their diſſenting, which accordingly they gave in on the 15th of November.

Upon the giving in theſe reaſons by the Elders, the Commiſſion appointed a Committee to wait upon the Elders; and to know if they inſiſted upon having their reaſons for proteſting recorded, and to ſignify to them, that if they did, the Commiſſion would be obliged to draw up their anſwer to thoſe reaſons, and to record the ſame likewiſe.

The Committee never obtained an anſwer from the gentlemen in a body; but as many as they met with gave for anſwer, that they did not inſiſt poſitively on it, but left it to the Commiſſion either to record

record it, and form anſwers to it, or not, as they ſaw moſt proper.

The Committee having reported this, the Commiſſion did at laſt think fit to record the proteſts, and the reaſons annexed, and drew up their anſwers to them, though they waited two months before they entered it.

I think the reaſons and anſwer are a ſufficient comment upon this text; and whoever pleaſes to peruſe them will ſee, that though the deſigns of wicked men pointed much further, yet the Commiſſion, both Miniſters and Elders, were wholly influenced by the principles of peace, honour, conſcience, and the good of the Church.

I know ſome thought the Church went too far in this affair, and eſpecially in the matter of the ſacramental teſt, which ſeemed a thing perfectly remote to them, and what they could have no concern at all in; and the Gentlemen, in particular, were yet more willing than the Miniſters, to have let both that and the matter of the civil power of the Biſhops quite alone.

But if we ſhall conſider how the Miniſters were daily beſieged, as before, with the importunate violences of the people; how many among them really thought this part in particular directly againſt the Covenant; and how, by falſe reports, many had been ſo impoſed upon as to believe the ſacramental teſt in England, extend even to the Members of Parliament which ſhould be ſent from Scotland.

When, I ſay, they conſider the fears and jealouſies which overſpread all ſorts of people; and how far the artifices of a wicked party were, at this time, in their meridian, and had inexpreſſible influence on all ſorts of people, they will, with me, admire that the Commiſſion was able to maintain their ſteady reſolution; how they worked through

through theſe floods, and kept the middle way with temper and moderation, to preſerve themſelves from the ſnares laid for them

All theſe things conſidered, it was, in moſt peoples opinion, a victory gained, and the party received a manifeſt diſappointment even in this repreſentation, in that the Commiſſion could be brought to no precipitations, as ſome people flattered themſelves they ſhould.

However this may be the general opinion, I know ſome people took ill the length they went in this affair, and thought they exceeded their proper ſphere; but I believe thoſe Gentlemen are very well ſatisfied with the unanſwerable arguments drawn from hence againſt thoſe, who, not content with this length, thought to upbraid them with forgetting the national obligation of the Covenant, which they fairly quitted themſelves of by that article, in which they declare civil places of churchmen to be not ſubmitted to by them, but againſt both their Covenant and conſciences, and ſo have fairly exonerated the Church from that affair which ſtuck ſo near her.

The repreſentation was preſented to the Houſe, juſt when the overture for the ſecurity of the Church was under their conſideration; and however it did not at preſent meet with a very favourable reception, even by thoſe who were the Church's very good friends, who thought as before, they run it too high, and alſo ill-timed it; yet neither did the Gentlemen wholly omit the things requeſted therein, though they ſeemed to ſleep for ſome time; but particularly the clauſe about the valuation of teinds and plantation of kirks, which they paſſed an act for by itſelf: the matter of oaths ſeems alſo ſettled in the amendments to the overture: the other, as the matter of the ſacramental teſt, and the ſuffrages of Biſhops in the Britiſh Parliament

Parliament was ſilently let fall, as things they could by no means meddle with in the treaty.

Here the oppoſers of the Union met with another diſappointment; for had theſe two articles been inſiſted on, they knew the event would have been a rupture of the treaty, and their great end had been anſwered, viz. to obtain the Parliament to demand ſomething, which they knew England could never grant.

Thus the ſtorm blew over, the Act of Security for the Church was voted, and laid by to be annexed to the articles, and made part of the Union, as ſhall afterwards appear.

As this had made a great noiſe in the Aſſembly, ſo it had been no leſs canvaſſed all over the nation: ſome condemned the Aſſembly in the main, and pretended to cenſure them publicly, for engaging themſelves in matters that had ſo plain a tendency to breaking up the Union, and deſiring the Parliament to concern themſelves in thoſe affairs in England, which could really admit of no debate in this caſe.

But, as if the Commiſſion wanted the authority of their conſtituents to back them in their proceedings, and to juſtify their conduct, the reſpective Preſbyteries in the country began to come in with letters, or a ſort of addreſſes, teſtifying their approbation of what the Commiſſion had done, &c. But the Commiſſion diligently avoiding every thing that was tumultuary or popular, gave a cold anſwer to them; as particularly that of Dumfermling, who ſubjoined to their approbation of the petition their deſire about faſts public and private, as in a time of impending dangers, the Commiſſion reſolved, That their act about faſts paſſed before, did ſufficiently anſwer the Preſbyteries deſire, and ſo took no notice of the reſt; which prudent way of proceeding ſtopped the deſign,

which

which ſeemed to be only to make the repreſentation as popular as they could, that it might, on the one hand, encourage further petitions, and ſecondly, oblige the Parliament to come into their meaſures.

While this was thus carrying on in the Commiſſion, the country began to be very uneaſy, and threatenings came in every day, of coming up in armies and rabbles, to raiſe the Parliament, and to deſire that the Church might be ſecured.

The Preſbyteries of Glaſgow, and of Stirling, ſent letters to the Commiſſion, containing heads of grievances, and repreſenting ſeveral things, which they deſired the Commiſſion to demand of the Parliament, for the Church's ſecurity.

To this the Commiſſion of the Aſſembly anſwered, That they had done, or were now doing, all that was deſired in their letters.

An ill-natured motion was made in the Commiſſion alſo, to ſend circular letters to all the Preſbyteries, to ſend up their Members to the Commiſſion, and a Committee was appointed to conſider of it; but this occaſioned ſuch variety of debates, that the Committee could come to no reſolution, but referred it back to the Commiſſion, and there it dropped.

This was a plain deſign to renew the debates; and, if poſſible, to bring the Commiſſion to proteſt or declare themſelves againſt the Union.

The repreſentation was now before the Parliament, but, as yet, they took no notice of it; and it was apparent that they purſued their treaty for ſome time, without any reſpect to the ſaid repreſentation: and indeed it was foreſeen, they would do ſo, the gentlemen eaſily ſeeing, that if theſe things were inſiſted, it was juſt a reſolution to break off the Union.

The

The other party eagerly reported about town, that it was a diſreſpect to the Church, not to regard her ſolemn repreſentation; and then the conſequences of the Biſhops voting in Parliament were laid forth, and the danger of the Church was now their general diſcourſe: Some were alarmed with this chimera, that the Parliament had not a ſincere reſpect for the Church's ſafety; that the gentlemen had no great concern about the matter, and ſo the Church would be expoſed to her enemies, by the negligence of her friends.

But the Commiſſion ſaw through all this; and having done what they thought their duty, both for the Church's ſecurity, and for the exonerating their conſciences in the caſes they could not comply with, they reſolved to ſtand ſtill, and leave the conſequences of things to Divine Providence, without puſhing at things impracticable, or ſuch things as tended only to diviſion.

This ſteadineſs of the Miniſters broke all the meaſures of the party. Their hopes to embroil the Miniſters with the Parliament vaniſhed; and the diſcourſe of the repreſentation or petition began to grow old and die.

The Commiſſion had their hands full of their repreſentations of another ſort, about the growth of Popery, the ill practices of ſome of the depoſed Miniſters, and the like, and ſo it wore off by degrees.

I mention, in this account, the prudence and moderation of the Miniſters ſo often, not that I deſign to write panegyrics here, much leſs to flatter the perſons of the Miniſters; but whoever knew the management of that time, and reflects back on the particulars, will eaſily join with me in this, that there were ſeveral parts of management practiſed upon the Miniſters, in order to ruin their counſels,

beſides

beſides what the open debates of the Commiſſion diſcovered, and particularly ſuch as follows:

1. There was a deſign, if poſſible, to bring the Miniſters into a general declaration againſt the Union, as dangerous to their liberties, inconſiſtent with their principles, and contrary to the obligation of the national Covenant. Of this I have ſpoken in the courſe of the ſtory.

2. There was a manifeſt deſign to bring them to a rupture among themſelves; and that, if poſſible, ſuppoſing the Union ſhould proceed, or not proceed, the diſagreeing party might be brought to a breaking off, or dividing from the reſt, and ſo form a ſettled ſtated diſſent, or breach in the Church; nor was this a thing of ſmall conſequence; for it was really big with a large variety of miſchiefs, and very cunningly contrived; ſnares were laid for the whole body, not of the aſſembled Miniſters only, but the conſtitution of the Church of Scotland, whoſe deſtruction was almoſt viſible in the project, had it met with ſucceſs.

Had the Union been completed without the concurrence of the Miniſters in commiſſion, either the Church affair muſt have been left out, or the enemies of it would have always ſaid, it had been ſettled without her approbation, and conſequently the ſettlement been both imperfect and illegal.

Had one party declared for the Union, and another againſt it, and, had both thoſe parties adhered to their reſpective declaration, by any public ſeparation as a party, the Houſe had been divided againſt itſelf, and the conſequence would have been hoped for with but too much probability.

In this very caſe, the prudence of the Miniſters, I ſay, was remarkable, and next to the wiſdom of Providence directing, was the only means of preventing the miſchief contrived: it is not to be doubted, but, in the commiſſion of the aſſembly, and

and among the Miniſters without, there were men of various ſentiments, ſome againſt, and ſome for the Union; but their wiſdom was particularly ſeen in this, that however they differed in the debating things, they always concurred in every public act of the Commiſſion, and made no diviſion for, nor againſt, it.

We find but one proteſt in the whole affair, which was in the caſe of the repreſentation and petition; and this began among the ruling Elders, and continued there; for none of the Miniſters ever adhered to that proteſt, but even thoſe that were againſt ſome parts of the repreſentation, yet, ſeeing themſelves out-voted, acquieſced; nor was all the repreſentation objected againſt by any body; it was a paper, I doubt not, ſome hoped to draw miſchief from, yet that miſchief had its diſappointment effectually, though the paper had its ſucceſs in being carried on; for it appeaſed the minds of many, who, being ſatisfied of having exonerated their conſcience, acquieſced in other caſes with the more freedom; nor was the repreſentation in general without its particular reaſons to be aſſigned for it, as is further expreſſed in the ſequel of the ſtory: as to the Miniſters in all other caſes, how warmly ſoever they debated, and with whatſoever firmneſs the ſeveral Miniſters adhered to their opinions, yet they ſubmitted their votes to the plurality, and all things were carried in a regular and orderly way, to the great diſappointment of their enemies, and to the great eaſe and ſatisfaction of all good men of every opinion.

Nor ſhould I do juſtice here to particular perſons, if I did not acknowledge, and record it to his honour, that much of this is juſtly due to the prudence, patience and temper of the reverend Moderator Mr. William Wiſhart, then Miniſter of Leith, who was Moderator of the Aſſembly, and alſo of

the Commiſſion, and who acted the true Moderator in all theſe diſputes wiſely, calming, tempering, and with difficulty enough, reducing the warmeſt debates to a method of concluſion; and I muſt own, he had a taſk of no ſmall difficulty, though he had, no doubt, the concurrence and aſſiſtance of the men of moſt candour, temper and judgment on either ſide, ſince it could not but be viſible to every thinking man, who had any concern for the good of the Church, that to run any differences up to a head, could iſſue in nothing but the utmoſt confuſion, gratify the enemy, grieve all good Chriſtians, and in the end ruin the peace of the Church.

And this remark of mine is the more juſt, in that I could not but obſerve, that the debates on theſe affairs had ſometimes that unhappy warmth, that they ſeemed to tend neceſſarily to a breach; and to come to the very point, and lookers on, of whom I was one with a ſad heart, expected ſomething fatal, not to the Union only, but to the whole Church, muſt unavoidably have followed every debate; and yet we always found cooler thoughts prevailed, and wiſe men yielding this way and that, continually maintained a harmony, in concluding whatever there was in debating.

Another piece of conduct was very inſtrumental to preſerving the public tranquillity, viz. that the Miniſters, generally ſpeaking, kept theſe debates out of the pulpit; for though all manner of ſociety was taken up with diſputes of the grand affair, the pulpit was very free of it; I ſay, generally ſpeaking, what indiſcretions there were, had not influence enough on the reſt, to recommend the example; particularly, I think it was a very great wiſdom in thoſe Miniſters, who were for the Union, and who had many prompters to it, had the Government to countenance them in it, and enemies enough to catch at it, if they had; I ſay, it was their wiſdom

dom that they forbore it; and I think theſe happy conſequences followed to prove it ſo.

1. It took away all pretence from thoſe people, who deſigned, in this unhappy game, to play one part of the Church againſt the other, and ſet up one ſide againſt the other more effectually.

2. It took away the ground of pulpit clamour, and kept thoſe people ſilent, who, had it once begun there, would have been loudeſt by far in the exclamation; for, had one party firſt preached for it, the other would, of courſe, have preached againſt it, and ſo the pulpit been made a mere ſtage of contention.

But, on both ſides, the Miniſters, as well on private as public days, let it generally alone; they prayed for direction and bleſſing on the Parliament, and on the meeting of the Miniſters, as tranſacting difficult and doubtful caſes, but avoided entering into debates.

I think I do them nothing but juſtice therefore, in hinting, that the temper and calmneſs, with which the generality of the Miniſters behaved in this nice occaſion, was very great, and contributed very much to the quiet carrying on the great work.

Soon after this, the country tumults came upon the ſtage; and, as it was a peculiar to this treaty, that the very methods taken to ruin it, concurred to preſs it forward; ſo theſe tumults ſerved to open the eyes, and calm the ſpirits of abundance of thoſe honeſt people, who were prejudiced before; who, though they were willing to oppoſe the Union, as what did not correſpond with their opinions, and as they thought with the public good; yet, when they ſaw it going to arms, rebellion, and blood; and when they ſaw this further, that, in order to oppoſe this national conjunction, they were to join in a civil war againſt their Governors, with their

and the nation's known enemies; their eyes began to open, and they ſlackened very much, from that time, their appearance againſt the treaty.

This manifeſtly ſhewed the difference between the men, who, in the ſingleneſs of their hearts, oppoſed it, as apprehending it unſafe for the eſtabliſhed Church, and inconſiſtent with their national engagements; and thoſe, on the other hand, who oppoſed it, as contrary and fatal to the Popiſh ſucceſſion of James VIII. as they called him, and the Epiſcopal hierarchy: and theſe differed juſt as the two harlots in Solomon's time;—the true mother of the child choſe to loſe her poſſeſſion of him, rather than that the child ſhould be murdered, ſo theſe faithful friends to their country, however poſſeſſed againſt the Union by the public clamour; yet they would chooſe to ſuffer the inconveniences they feared, rather than ſee their country involved in blood, a civil war breaking out in the bowels of the kingdom, and foreign Popiſh, or tyrannical powers invading their privileges, and pulling down all before them.

This will appear to be the caſe, in the further purſuit of the ſtory, and the ſight of this affected the hearts of a great many of thoſe, who had any compaſſion for their country; and from this time forward, the Commiſſion met with leſs diſturbance from the hot people on theſe heads, but went on calmly, and with all the temper and moderation that could be expected.

The letter from the Preſbytery of Hamilton gave them ſome little diſturbance, but it was ſoon over; and their circular letter to Preſbyteries, to endeavour to preſerve the public peace, not only ſhewed their own reſolution to keep all quiet and peaceable, but diſcouraged all endeavours afterward to diſorder them: of which by itſelf.

But

But things were now grown to a ſtrange height: and the ſame engines, who ſo boaſted of the effects of the repreſentation and petition above-ſaid, ſhewed themſelves not idle in their management of affairs abroad; for they carried on the diſcontents of the people to all poſſible height.

And indeed the caſe of the poor common people of Scotland was very hard, in reſpect to their ſhare in theſe matters; they are not the only common people in the world, who take things by wholeſale; and who being inflamed with the clamours and arguments of the more knowing ſort, their landlords, leaders, heads of families, and, as they too properly call them, maſters, and alarmed with out-cries of dangers, and diſtreſſes; which were to come upon them by the Union; things which they could not anſwer, nor had any reaſon to queſtion the truth of, ſeeing their great men poſſeſſed with the belief of them: 'tis no wonder they were exaſperated to the higheſt degree, and ready to attempt any thing, to ſave themſelves from the deſtruction at hand.

Again, they were not altogether the people that were diſagreeable to them neither, from whom theſe diſcontents began; had they been only the Epiſcopal, or Jacobite, or Popiſh party, that had ſtarted theſe things, a ſhort anſwer would have opened the eyes of the common people; and it had ſufficed to tell them, from whom their objections came.

But when, by the ſubtilty and artifice of theſe men, they had drawn in a great many of the honeſt well-meaning people of the country, who were known to be well affected to the preſent civil eſtabliſhment of the nation, and zealous for its religious eſtabliſhment; when theſe were ſeen among the number of the warm oppoſers of the Union, ſhaking their heads at the articles, and frightened at the terrible conſequences, which were talked of; who can wonder, that the reſt of the people began to be uneaſy,

uneaſy, and that thoſe uneaſineſſes, at laſt, broke out into exceſſes, madneſs, and diſtraction?

The people of Scotland, I ſay, are not the firſt inſtance how eaſily it is to be impoſed upon, and how readily a mob is raiſed by a rumour. How ſoon did the Jews of Aſia put all Jeruſalem in an uproar, when they made them believe their worſhip was in danger by Paul's preaching, and that he not only invaded their worſhip, but had actually defiled the temple! How readily did they lay hold of the bleſſed Apoſtle, and had certainly murdered him, if the civil authority had not, aſſiſted by the military, reſcued him out of the hands of the mob, and put the caſe in the way of a fair hearing!

It was not for the poor people to diſtinguiſh the original of cauſes and things, nor who was at the bottom of theſe rumours; it was not for them to diſtinguiſh the hand of Joab in all this; whether Jacobite or Papiſt was the original of this matter, was not for them to examine; they ſaw their ſuperiors joining in the ſame complaint, and every party ſaw ſome of their reſpective chiefs embarked.

The common people could look no further; the Epiſcopal poor ſaw their curates tooth and nail againſt it; the ignorant and indifferent poor, ſaw their Jacobite landlords and maſters railing at it; and which was worſe ſtill, the honeſt Preſbyterian poor people ſaw ſome of their gentlemen, and ſuch as they had remarked and noticed to be hearty Preſbyterians, yet appearing againſt it; who then can cenſure the poor, depending, uninformed and abuſed people?

And how, but by theſe concurring accidents, was it poſſible the poor deluded people of Glaſgow, and the Weſt, could be drawn into mobs and tumults, in gratification of that very party to whom they have been the very antipodes, the reverſe, even in all the ages of the reformation; by whom they had

had been plundered, rifled, butchered, and perſecuted, in the moſt barbarous manner, with cruelties and extravagancies innumerable: will any man ſay, the men of Glaſgow, famous for their zeal in religion, and the liberties of their country, even from the very infancy of the reformation, were now turned enemies to the Church of Scotland, and ready to fight againſt her, in the quarrel of their bloody and inveterate enemies, the Papiſts and Jacobites?—It could not be.

Will any man ſuggeſt, that Glaſgow had forgotten herſelf ſo much, that the blood of her citizens and inhabitants, ſhed in the old articles of Pentland and Bothwell, and the ravages made upon her, and the countries round her, after thoſe unhappy times, even to the confines of the Revolution, were forgotten? Will any body think, the Glaſgow men had ſo far forgot the hiſtory of twenty years ago only, that they could now join with the murderers of their brethren and fathers, and take up arms in favour of their mortal enemies?—No, no, nothing leſs; it was all deluſion and mere artifice; the party played the Preſbyterian againſt the Preſbyterian, the Williamite againſt the Williamite, and having ſubtilly poſſeſſed a few honeſt, but deluded people, with the phrenſy of the time, made them the tools of their projects, if poſſible to bring them to pull down one another, that they might afterwards with the more eaſe devour them both.

And this leads me of courſe into a ſtory of the Glaſgow rabble, which now came upon the ſtage, and which in its turn, though raiſed with a different deſign, was one of the proofs of God's providence working every thing, howſoever pointed at the Union, to act for it and further its concluſion.

They had had in Edinburgh continual alarms of the riſing of the people in the Weſt and North parts, in order by force to put an end to the treaty, though the people themſelves knew nothing of it, nor had any ſuch deſign:

deſign: to-day it was in Angus, to-morrow in Galloway, now at Stirling, then at Lanerk, then at Hamilton, then at Glaſgow, but nothing yet appeared; and ſome began to mock theſe fears as groundleſs. The party made their different uſes of the reports; to-day enlarge them to terrify and amuſe, to-morrow leſſen them again as mere rumours, to leſſen the watchfulneſs of the Government, and make them ſecure; but the deſign was manifeſtly to procure the tumults they expected, by reporting they were begun.

That theſe fears were not groundleſs, or thoſe alarms mere chimeras, may be ſeen by the Commiſſion of the Kirk's circular letters to the ſeveral Preſbyteries, to deſire them to keep the peace, and to be earneſt to prevent ſuch tumults; to which the Preſbytery of Hamilton gave an anſwer, which ſeemed to object againſt theſe fears as unjuſt, though it did not afterwards appear ſo.

And now, though in the ſtory of the Glaſgow rabble, I ſhall be obliged to mention the unhappy ſlip in thoſe prudentials, which, as I have obſerved, the Miniſters, generally ſpeaking, behaved with; I ſhall not, however, offend any perſon of common charity, ſince I ſhall be far from ſaying the Gentleman here did this with a deſign to raiſe the tumult that followed; much leſs would I ſo much as ſuſpect, that he could in the leaſt have it in his thoughts, to gratify the folly and projected deſtruction of the Kirk of Scotland, which, in all theſe things, was apparent enough in the ſecret party that puſhed on theſe things.

As to the raſhneſs and intemperate zeal, or whatever other miſtaken foundation it had, producing the heat and warmth of the expreſſion, I have the charity to believe, he is convinced of the error of that; and ſo, while I am obliged to repeat the circumſtance, I ſhall as little as poſſible reflect upon the perſon, being deſirous, in all caſes, rather to

cover

cover than expoſe the undeſigning failures of all honeſt men, as what they may be led into by miſtake, but never proſecute when their judgments are better informed.

But to come to the particulars of this unhappy ſtory at Glaſgow, which I ſhall relate with all the impartiality poſſible, and without reſpect of perſons, both for the ſake of the hiſtory, which it is neceſſary to tranſmit faithfully to poſterity; as alſo for ſetting things in a true light, and placing the guilt where it is juſtly due, which at preſent is underſtood to the prejudice of that city in general, and of thoſe honeſt Gentlemen among the inhabitants who had no concern in it, unleſs it were to be inſulted and made uneaſy about it.

The firſt uneaſineſs that I meet with among the people here, I mean that was particular (for the general uneaſineſſes about the treaty were viſible every where, as I have hinted already), was about addreſſing.

Great had been the endeavours of a party of men, all over the kingdom, to bring in numerous addreſſes to the Parliament againſt the treaty, in order to fortify that argument, which was now brought in as a ſtrong bar againſt the immediate proceeding, viz. That it was againſt the general inclination of the people; which you will find moved in the Houſe upon the ſecond reading of the firſt article.

The party at Glaſgow had been very buſy to perſuade the Magiſtrates to addreſs, as the other Royal Boroughs had many of them done; but the Magiſtrates ſhewing no inclination to it, they found there was no way to bring it about, but by the common people.

Nor could all their credit with the common people bring it to paſs; the inſtruments being chiefly Jacobites, Papiſts, and Epiſcopal people, whoſe reputation and intereſt in the city of Glaſgow, and parts adjacent,

jacent, had always been but very low, and now lower than ever; ſo that, to effect their deſign, they had recourſe to the policy of the times, viz. deluding and impoſing upon others, and this did their work; for had they not made uſe of ſome weaker brethren, who had more influence upon the people, they had never brought it to paſs.

To bring in ſome of theſe, all the popular arguments mentioned before were improved; among others, the danger of the Kirk of Scotland, I believe I may ſay in their favour, was not the leaſt.

Drawn in by theſe ſpecious pretences, the Jacobite party had the pleaſure to lay by, and ſee their work done to their hand; and the people being ſufficiently inflamed, they waited the iſſue, when one unhappy indiſcretion, to ſay no worſe of it, finiſhed all their hopes, and brought to paſs the miſchief they deſigned, in the beſt manner for them they could have wiſhed for.

Some of the Elders of the Church had privately waited on the Provoſt, whether moved by their Miniſter, or by the common people, or of their own heads, I ſhall not determine, though it is not very difficult to trace it to its beginning; but it is apparent, the Miniſter we are to mention, as well as ſome others in the town, were very earneſt for the thing. Their buſineſs was, it ſeems, to move the Provoſt, that an addreſs might be preſented to the Parliament againſt the Union; they might have commanded a popular addreſs among themſelves, but that was not what they deſired, but an addreſs in the name of the city, by the Provoſt, Baillies, &c.

The Provoſt anſwered to this purpoſe: That he did not think it would be prudent for them to addreſs at this time; that he had been at Edinburgh, and had conſulted the Lord Advocate, and ſome of the city of Glaſgow's beſt friends, and all unanimouſly adviſed them againſt it, and gave it as their opinion,

nion, it was not their intereſt to do it: particularly he reminded them, the Parliament had but the laſt ſeſſion granted them the tax of two pennies the pint; and if they ſhould now appear as a town in this addreſs, it might urge them to repeal this grant, and the city might be a great ſufferer.

This was a very good reaſon why he ſhould decline the addreſs, if the gentlemen had been in a condition to hearken to reaſon; for if the Magiſtrates had addreſſed, they muſt alſo have followed it with reaſons and arguments openly as a body, which in ſuch caſe would have been, in all probability, ill taken by the Parliament, if, as is very likely, thoſe reaſons had been ſuch as came in from other places, peremptorily inhibiting their proceedings, and impeaching their power to act, without leave from their conſtituents, which indeed was the thing now inſiſted upon, and generally aimed at in the project of addreſſing.

The Provoſt having thus, though very calmly and reſpectfully, declined the matter, the people appeared very uneaſy, and ſome hot expreſſions had been let fall in diſcourſe about the town, that they would have an addreſs one way or other; but one unhappy accident ſoon diſcovered the meaning of the whole.

On Thurſday the 7th day of November, the day after the faſt appointed by the Commiſſion of the Aſſembly was kept in Glaſgow, Mr. C——k, Miniſter of the Trone Kirk, preached from the words in Ezra, viii. 21. "And I proclaimed a faſt at the "river of Ahava, that we might afflict ourſelves "before our God, to ſeek of him a right way for "us, and for our little ones, and for all our ſub-"ſtance."

I ſhall convince the gentleman concerned, that this account is not made for a ſatire upon him, it is too ſerious a ſubject, and when both he, and thoſe who heard him, reflects on how much more his

his unhappy temper, at that time, forced from him, than I ſet down here, all which I have by me verbatim, as he ſpoke it; he will, I ſay, be convinced, that I talk no more than, in the obligation of a hiſtorian to truth of fact, I am bound to do.

In the concluſion of his ſermon, after telling his hearers the ſad condition they were brought to, and how forward Glaſgow uſed to be in the honeſt cauſe, he added to this purpoſe:

Addreſſes would not do, and prayers would not do, there muſt be other methods; it is true prayer was a duty, but we muſt not reſt there; and cloſed it with theſe words, "Wherefore up and be valiant "for the city of our God."

I am not at all apprehenſive of having the truth of theſe words queſtioned, having received them from the mouths of more than two or three of the principal inhabitants of Glaſgow, who heard them ſpoken; and if the miſplacing a word ſhould be ſnatched at, I venture to ſay, that this was the full purport of the expreſſion, without the leaſt variation; as to the weak good man that ſpoke them, I will not ſuggeſt that he foreſaw the conſequence of them, or had any ſuch thing in his deſign, though it calls for ſome charity to gueſs his meaning. The kindeſt thing I can ſay of them is, that he did not mean at all what followed, but ſpoke in his haſte; for God forbid I ſhould ſuggeſt he meant to raiſe a rebellion, and to bring his country into all that blood and confuſion, which, if God's goodneſs had not prevented it, had certainly followed.

The ſermon ended about eleven o'clock, and the people were ſo inflamed before, that by one o'clock the mob were gotten together, their drum was beat in the back ſtreets, and all the confuſions we are now to ſpeak of followed.

The next day, the Deacons of the Trades, which is the ſame as in London, the Maſters of the Companies,

panies, followed with a middling number of * tradeſmen, came to † the Council-Houſe, and leaving the people below, the Deacons of Trades, and ſome few, went up to the Provoſt, and demanded of him very rudely if he would addreſs.

The Provoſt, though ſurprized with their manner, compoſed himſelf, and, according to his known calmneſs and ſteadineſs of temper, told them, that he was not ſatisfied to addreſs, and an eminent inhabitant of the town, viz. the Laird of Blackhouſe, uſed a great many arguments with them, civilly to perſuade them to be eaſy and ſatisfied, and not to promote any diſorders in the city.

While they were thus diſcourſing in the town-houſe, the number of the people encreaſed without, and began to be tumultuous; but as ſoon as the Deacons came out, and reported to them in ſhort, that the Provoſt had refuſed to addreſs, the people fell a ſhouting, and raging, and throwing ſtones, and raiſed a very great uproar.

And here the Deacons deſervedly obtain the title of the raiſers of this rabble; for had they related the calmneſs, the reaſonings, and the manner, with which the Provoſt very diſcreetly anſwered them, the people might very eaſily have been quietly diſmiſſed; but now it was too late, the anſwer, as it was given to them, was only in groſs, that the Provoſt was reſolute, and would not addreſs.

Enraged thus, they flung ſtones at the windows, and, as much as they could, inſulted the Provoſt; but

* By tradeſmen in Scotland, is underſtood none but the meaner ſort of people, ſuch as ſhoemakers, ſmiths, butchers, weavers, and the like, as in England are called handicrafts: the ſhopkeepers, ſuch as mercers, drapers, grocers, &c. are all called merchants.

† A chamber in the Tolbooth, where the Magiſtrates ſit, and where the City Council aſſembles, and where the Provoſt generally is every morning.

but he found means to withdraw, ſo that they could not hurt him for that time.

In this rage, they went directly to the Provoſt's houſe, got into it, took away all his arms, which were about twenty-five muſquets, &c. ſome few things were ſtolen in the throng, but that was not much: from thence they went to the Laird of Blackhouſe's dwelling, broke his windows, and ſhewed their teeth, and thus the firſt tumult ended.

The Provoſt retired for a while out of town, and the Laird of Blackhouſe alſo, not knowing what the iſſue of theſe things might be.

I pay no compliment at all here, but a debt to truth, in nothing that the Provoſt of Glaſgow for that time, —— Aird, Eſquire, was an honeſt, ſober, diſcreet gentleman, one that had always been exceedingly beloved, even by the common people, particularly for his care of, and charity to the poor of the town; and, at another time, would have been the laſt man in the town they would have inſulted.

I mention this to obviate the ſuppoſition, that the rabble took this occaſion to inſult him, upon former reſentments, as has been uſual in like caſes.

The Provoſt being withdrawn, and the addreſs they deſigned thus baulked.

They ſet it on foot without him, and indeed they effectually anſwered the Magiſtrates deſire, who reſolved, if there was an addreſs, it ſhould be a mere mob addreſs.

Many a mean ſtep they took to get hands, by threatening, affrighting, and hurrying people into it, taking youths and mere childrens hands to it.

Every man that refuſed to ſign it, was threatened to be rabbled, and have his houſe plundered, which made a great many timorous people ſign it, that did not approve of it.

This

This being the method, it may eaſily be imagined, the addreſs was not many days a finiſhing; and ſuch as it was, they ſent it away by four of the townſmen, whereof the firſt two * were the Deacon of the taylors, and the Deacon of the ſhoemakers; the other two that went with it were gentlemen, too well known to be ſuſpected of deſiring any ſuch kind of tumultuous proceedings, but complied with their deſire, in order to prevent worſe conſequences.

If the multitude of addreſſes, which have been boaſted of, as a declaration of the averſion of the people to the Union, may be gueſſed at by this, thoſe gentlemen, who bring this as an argument, have ſmall reaſon to boaſt, and need not be very forward to have the particulars examined into.

The addreſs having thus been ſigned, and ſent away, the people begun to be quiet again, and the tumults ſeemed to have an end; the Provoſt, who had fled to Edinburgh, came home again, and every one went quietly about their buſineſs, till, a little while after, a new occaſion ſet all in a flame again, worſe than it was before, and made it appear, who was at the bottom of it all.

And here the warm gentleman, who from the pulpit put the match to this gun powder, may ſee who laid the train; the trifle of addreſſing was the leaſt thing they ſought for, though that ſerved a purpoſe alſo; and theſe good people, who were drawn in to begin it, ſaw no further; but now it appeared to be all Jacobite and Papiſt at the bottom; that blood and confuſion was the thing they drove at, and King James, prelacy, tyranny, popery, and all the miſchiefs this nation has to fear from them, lay hid

* Robert Scot, Deacon of the Taylors, ——— Stevenſon, Deacon of the Shoemakers; John Bowman, Dean of Guild; and John Hamilton, Gentleman; were the four that went up to the Parliament with the addreſs.

hid in the deſign, as will preſently appear, and the poor thoughtleſs multitude were only hurried into it, by a conjunction of miſtakes.

The ſecond rabble had a beginning as ſmall as the firſt, though not ſo ſoon laid, becauſe the firſt had only the addreſs in view, and was managed by a few, that the contrivers of thoſe diſorders had impoſed upon, and deluded; but this part was under the more immediate conduct of the very party themſelves, and was introduced as follows:

One of the Magiſtrates * of the city had committed a † fellow to the Tolbooth for theft. He had, it ſeems, been taken offering to ſale a muſquet or ſome other things, which it was made appear belonged to the Provoſt of the city, and which was taken out of his houſe in the time of the rabble abovementioned.

This fellow lay in the Tolbooth for ſome time; but it was obſerved that in an evening there would be ſeveral of the common people at the window, talking to him through the grates of the priſon. The Provoſt apprehending that the impriſonment of this fellow might be a pretence for a new diſturbance, reſolved to diſcharge him; but, that it might not ſeem to be done for fear, took a ‡ bond of him to appear again when called for, and among the reſt of the people who came to talk with him at the grate was one Finlay, a looſe ſort of a fellow, who had formerly been a ſerjeant in Dumbarton's regiment in Flanders, and who openly profeſſed himſelf a Jacobite, a fellow that followed no employ, but his mother

* It was Baillie Hamilton.

† The fellow's name was Parker, a looſe vagabond profligate fellow of a very ill character, a ſpinner of tobacco by employment, but a very ſcandalous perſon.

‡ This is called there a bond of preſentation, and is all one with a ſimple recognizance without bail.

mother kept a little change houſe * at the remoteſt part of the town on the Edinburgh ſide.

The fellow had given his comrades an account, that the magiſtrates had taken a bond of him; and the next morning this Finlay, and a rabble with him, comes up to the Clerk's Chamber, another office in the † Tolbooth, where the Magiſtrates meet, and there they demand this bond of the Clerk, it being put into his hands.

The Magiſtrates, willing to take away all occaſions of tumult, and to leave them no excuſe, ordered the bond to be delivered up: for the gentlemen rabble had now the full command of the town.

But to let it be ſeen that theſe were but ſeeking occaſions, notwithſtanding the Provoſt had told them they ſhould have the bond delivered up, and they had now no reaſon but to be ſatisfied, the Clerk having orders to deliver it, they continued together reſolving to inſult the Provoſt at his coming out.

The Provoſt not imagining any danger, having granted their requeſt, comes innocently out of the Tolbooth and went toward his own houſe; the rabble immediately gathered about him, thruſting and abuſing him, and not with villainous language only, but with ſtones and dirt and ſuch like thrown at him.

He would have made to his own houſe; but the multitude increaſing and growing furious, he took ſanctuary in a houſe, and running up a ſtair-caſe loſt the rabble for ſome time, they purſuing him into a wrong houſe; however, they ſearched every apart-

* The common name of an ale-houſe or inn in that country.

† The Town houſe, in which is their offices and alſo the priſon for the city; it is generally like the Guild-hall of a city, or the Town-houſe in England, ſaving that the priſon is generally in the ſame houſe in Scotland.

ment to the top of the ſtair, and came into the very room where he was; but the ſame hand that ſmote the men of Sodom with blindneſs, when they would have rabbled the angels, protected him from this many-headed monſter, and ſo blinded them that they could not find him. It is the opinion of many of the ſobereſt and moſt judicious of the citizens, that if they had found him, their fury was at that time ſo paſt all government, that they would have murdered him, and that in a manner barbarous enough; and if they had, as we ſay of a bull dog, once but taſted blood, who knows where they would have ended?

The Provoſt was hid in a bed which folded up againſt the wall, and which they never thought of taking down. Having eſcaped this imminent danger, he was conveyed out of town the next day by his friends, and went for the ſecond time to Edinburgh.

The rabble was now fully maſter of the town; they ranged the ſtreets and did what they pleaſed; no magiſtrate durſt ſhow his face to them, they challenged people as they walked the ſtreets with this queſtion, Are you for the Union? And no man durſt own it but at their extremeſt hazard.

The next thing they did was to ſearch for arms in all the houſes of thoſe that had appeared for the Union; and firſt they went to the Dean of Guild, and, upon his refuſing to give them his arms, they took them away by force. They ſtopt here a little, but having given out that they would ſearch the houſes of all that were for the Union, the Magiſtrates aſſembled, and conſidering that if the citizens were diſarmed, and the rabble poſſeſſed of their weapons, they might in the next place poſſeſs their houſes, wives, and wealth, at their command; and that it was better to defend themſelves now than be murdered and plundered in cold blood. They reſolved therefore to raiſe ſome ſtrength to oppoſe this violence,

lence, and accordingly ordered the town guards to be doubled that night, and removed the place of arms from the uſual guard-houſe to the Tolbooth. And that this guard ſhould be of ſelect perſons ſuch as they knew.

Accordingly orders were ſent to all the Captains of the city militia, that each of them ſhould bring twelve men with them, ſuch as they could depend upon would ſtand by them to ſecure the peace of the city; and this was beſides the ordinary guard.

This was done readily, and with great ſecrecy and celerity, the Captains of the militia, being faithful honeſt gentlemen, brought their men without any noiſe, beat of drum, or the like, and leaving the ordinary guard at the uſual place*, and were that night encreaſed to a whole company, and this ſelect guard was placed in the Council Chamber †.

The rabble, who had reſolved to be as good as their words, were now gotten together; and whether they thought the Magiſtrates were met in the Council-Chamber, and ſo they reſolved to begin with them; or whether they had intelligence that they were upon their guard, is not certain; but about nine o'clock at night they gathered about the Tolbooth, and ſeeing a centinel placed at the top of the ſtair, ‡ Finlay, of whom before, is ordered to go up, and ſee what they were a doing, as he called it.

When he came to the top of the ſtair, the centinel challenged him, and thruſt him back; but he comes on again, and thruſts in with the centinel, and gets by him.

* The uſual place for the guard of the town is in the Trone-gate-ſtreet.

† In the Tolbooth one pair of ſtairs high.

‡ The ſtone ſteps on the outſide, where the iron rails are, and where the officers ſtand to read proclamations or any public acts.

At this juncture one of the citizens, who was privately appointed to meet as above, was juſt coming up; and having paſſed as privately as he could through the mob, who were at the ſtair-foot to the number of about 100, being a ſelect party only, for the reſt were not then got together, was going up the ſtairs. This gentleman ſeeing a fellow aſſault the centinel, boldly ſtepped up to him, and knocked him down on the ſtair-head with the butt end of his muſquet, and immediately calls the guard.

The guard immediately took to their arms, and headed by one Lieutenant Lindſay, an old ſoldier of King William's, but now a burgeſs and inhabitant of the city, they came down and drew up at the foot of the ſtairs.

Some pieces were fired in the ſtreet, but whether at the guard or no, was not known. The multitude was great by this time, and being late at night, it could not well be diſcerned: but as they had all the reaſon in the world to expect it, they fell reſolutely to work with them, and ſallying upon the rabble, they immediately fled and diſperſed.

Having thus broke the firſt body of them, it was obſerved that they only fled from the immediate ſhock, but ſtood in throngs under the * piazzas, and in the heads of cloſes†, to ſee what the guard would do; and that with one halloo, they could all be together again in a moment; whereupon a party was ordered down ‡ every ſtreet to clear the piazzas and cloſes, and ſee the rabble effectually diſperſed, which they did; but were all the way aſſaulted

* The new buildings at the croſs have ſmall piazzas of ſtone on both ſides, under which the ſhops are, and the people may walk in wet weather.

† Cloſes are the ſame with bye-lanes or alleys.

‡ There are but four principal ſtreets, which all meet at the Croſs, and lead to the four gates of the city.

aſſaulted from the houſes and out of the cloſes with curſes and ſtones; the former did not much hurt, except to the givers, but the latter wounded ſeveral of the inhabitants, and ſome were very much hurt.

Had they been able to have renewed this guard, the public peace had been maintained, and the whole deſign of this rabble diſappointed: but it is to be noted, theſe gentlemen were all citizens, heads of families, and of the principal inhabitants; the commonalty was univerſally debauched, and not to be truſted, and the gentlemen could not do duty every night, neither had all that were zealous enough againſt the tumults, either bodies to bear the fatigue of ſoldiers, or hearts to adventure; and thoſe that were forwardeſt, could not be always in arms: this firſt piece of work was on Saturday night, the next night they relieved the guard by the like ſelect number, and all was quiet; for while theſe men appeared, the rabble durſt not ſtir.

On Monday the Magiſtrates ſummoned the Town Council, and ſending for the Deacons of the Tradeſmen, the thing propoſed was, what courſe ſhould be taken to ſecure the peace of the city, and keep the Magiſtrates and inhabitants from plunder and inſult.

The Deacons of trades, ſubtilly, and as appeared deſignedly, at leaſt ſuch of them as were in the deſign, propoſed, that this ſelect guard ſhould be omitted, and pretended to promiſe, that if any tumult happened, they would come to the town guard with their men to defend the city; which whoever obſerves how well they performed, will think it no breach of charity to ſay they never deſigned it: however, for this week there was no more tumult, but the mob reigned maſters, and Finlay, who now had made himſelf one of their

leaders

leaders, ſet up a guard at the upper end of the town near the cathedral, as it were in oppoſition to the town-guard.

The whole week was ſpent in amuſements, and raiſing reports of the riſing of the people at Stirling, at Hamilton, and in Angus; and that a great army of them was to rendezvous at Hamilton, from whence they were to march to Edinburgh, to raiſe the Parliament: Finlay gives out, that he will march with all the men of Glaſgow, to meet their brethren at Hamilton on the ſame deſign. By whoſe aſſiſtance all this was done, the Government was too merciful to make a narrow inquiry, and ſo I muſt leave it as they did in the dark Having brought the folly and madneſs of the poor people to ſuch a height, Finlay actually gets together about forty-five men, for that was the moſt of the great army he raiſed; and on the Friday following, this contemptible wretch having made himſelf their General, marches out of the city with them for Hamilton; they were armed with muſquets and ſwords, ſuch as they had taken out of the Magiſtrates houſes; and (wherever he procured it, for every one knows he had it not of his own) he diſtributed to every man a dollar; and thus in arms againſt their native country, and the Proteſtant religion, theſe poor deluded people marched away, under the command of an abject ſcoundrel wretch, that openly profeſſed himſelf a Jacobite, and that, with his good will, would have ſeen all the Preſbyterians in Scotland ruined.

But to ſuch a paſs were things now come; and who can account for ſome critical junctures, in which men may be brought to ruin themſelves with their own hands, and never ſuffer themſelves to liſten to the cautions of their friends?

The town, though rid of Finlay and his vanguard, enjoyed not the more peace, or were in leſs danger,

danger, for the mob that remained kept up their guard, threatened yet worſe things than had been done, and were afterwards as good as their words to a tittle.

The Government, it may be ſuppoſed, were conſtantly acquainted with thoſe things, and their forbearance had not a little heartened up the party that puſhed theſe miſchiefs on; however, being lothe to come to extremities, they tried gentler methods firſt, and the Lord High Commiſſioner having laid it before the Parliament, they immediately paſſed an act, diſcharging the muſtering of the troops in the country during this ſeſſion, and a Proclamation was publiſhed againſt tumults, and both theſe were ſent to Glaſgow to be publiſhed.

It ſhould be noted here, that by the Act of Security, any of the nobility, gentry, or towns might meet in arms, muſter and exerciſe their fencible men, and the like, upon any occaſion of which they were judges; which was done in order to make the militia of Scotland more ſerviceable, or, as ſome think, *in terrorem* to ſerve a cauſe; but be that as it will, it may remain undetermined; but at this juncture, the Parliament foreſaw it might be a handle for the drawing together any number of men at ſuch a time as this, and might be dangerous to the peace, wherefore they cauſed an act to be brought in to repeal that part of the Act of Security, for ſo long only as the preſent Parliament was ſitting.

When this act of Parliament and Proclamation came to town, which was on the Monday after Finlay's March, the Magiſtrates aſſembled about ten in the morning, and cauſed the meſſenger that brought it to read it at the Croſs; accordingly the meſſenger goes up to the * uſual place, and read firſt

* The head of the ſtone ſtairs on the outſide of the Tolbooth, juſt fronting the Croſs, the ſame mentioned before where the centinel ſtood.

the

the act of Parliament, the Magiſtrates were below, and the officers attending as uſual, and a vaſt multitude of people were got together to hear what it was; before the officer had done, the people began to make a noiſe, and throw ſtones at him; but however, the man went on, and read out the act, and began the Proclamation againſt tumults; but he had hardly read the title of the Proclamation, when the ſtones came ſo thick, there was no ſtanding it, and the poor fellow, not a little bruiſed, was driven off the ſtairs.

Upon this the Magiſtrates ordered one of the town officers to go up and read, which he did as far as he could, but was in like manner driven off by the fury of the ſtoning. In the interim of this, the Magiſtrates had ſent for the town-guard to protect the ſecond officer in reading; the officer of the guard ſeeing the other officer abuſed thus before their faces, commands his men to fall upon the rabble with the clubs of their muſquets, which they did, and knocked down ſome of them; but the tradeſmen that were upon the guard, in the very action deſerted, and refuſed to obey the command of their officers, which ſo encouraged the rabble, that they came on again with ſhouts and huzzas, and with vollies of ſtones they fell upon the few of the guard that were faithful, and drove them off from the ſtreet.

The officer that commanded them, retreated them into the guard-houſe, but this was not a place to be defended againſt ſuch a multitude, ſo in ſhort they broke in upon them and diſarmed them, and well it was they came off without blood, ſome of them were very much bruiſed with ſtones.

The rabble, now fluſhed with victory, were in a terrible fury, and this was the moſt outrageous part of the whole tranſaction; having diſarmed the guard, they next thing was to ſtorm the Tolbooth, immediately

immediately they got ladders to the windows, and breaking in, they ſeized upon 250 halberts, which are the town's arms; with theſe upon their ſhoulders, in rank and file they roved about the ſtreets, and made their rendezvous at the old caſtle, where their guard was kept; here they gave out, that in the afternoon, they would come down and plunder the merchants houſes, nay, and threatened their lives too, which put the whole city in an unſpeakable conſternation.

Nor were they wanting in ſome part of their threatened execution, for about three in the afternoon they detached a party of about twenty men armed, ſome with muſquets, ſome with halberts; theſe, with a drum before them, came to the Croſs, and from thence took their march down the high ſtreets, breaking open the doors and houſes of whoever they pleaſed, pretending to ſearch for arms, but ſtole and plundered whatever came in their way, and thus they continued till ten o'clock at night.

They got not above thirty muſquets, with ſome piſtols and ſwords, but the terror of the inhabitants is not to be expreſſed, who were obliged to bear this violence without complaint; this ſmall party was followed by a vaſt throng of boys and idle fellows, like themſelves, which increaſed the fright of the citizens.

Having thus ranged the city at pleaſure till about ten o'clock at night, they marched away with the ſpoil of their maſters up to their main guard, from thence they beat their tatoo round the town like a garriſon; and indeed they were no leſs, for they had the city in their full poſſeſſion, and every body's life and goods at their mercy.

Their rudeneſs in this pretended ſearch for arms is not to be deſcribed, and had they met with any oppoſition, no doubt it would have been worſe; they

they came into the rooms where perſons that lay ſick were juſt dying, and put all things into inexpreſſible confuſion; they came into chambers, where women were lying in, and barbarouſly made them riſe, pretending to ſearch under their beds for arms. In ſhort, except that there was no blood ſhed, they acted the exact part of an enraged ungoverned rabble.

But to return to their army of forty-five, which was all this while on its march, and were advanced as far as Kilſyth, on their way to Edinburgh.

The Government, who had an exact account of all theſe things, and who had tried all the gentle methods of proclamations, acts of Parliament, &c. finding to what height things were brought, and that nothing but force could remedy them, prepared to be before-hand with theſe forward gentlemen; and having an account both of their march and number, the Lord Commiſſioner ordered a detachment of dragoons, joined with ſome horſe grenadiers of the guard, under the command of Colonel Campbell, uncle to the Duke of Argyle, to march with all expedition for Glaſgow.

Finlay, in the mean time being at Kilſyth, has notice of the march of theſe dragoons, within a few hours after his arrival there; and hearing no news of the great parties of 5 and 6000, which he had perſuaded his men would meet him there; and being alarmed at the news of the dragoons, he ſends back ——— Campbell, another of the ringleaders of his rabble, to bring up the ſecond body which was to be ready to follow, and which were reported to be 400; but they thanked him, and ſtaid at home; and with the reſt he marched to Hamilton, where he arrived on Sunday about noon, the third day after his march from Glaſgow.

Here he quartered his army that night, and finding, as before, none of the friends that were to aſſemble

aſſemble from all parts, nor no news of them, he beſtowed a volley of curſes upon them, and marches directly back to Glaſgow, where he arrived, to the no ſmall mortification of his fellows, on Wedneſday, the next day but one after the plunderings I have related before; they had halted at Rugland, a Borough about two miles from Glaſgow; where, as I ſuppoſe, they called a council of war among themſelves; but, being all voters, they agreed upon nothing, but to march home, which accordingly they did; and in order of battle entered the city, and marched directly up to their main-guard aforeſaid: here they made, ſays my author, their rendezvous, having not thought fit to keep the field any longer.

And now they began to think a little, for I cannot allow myſelf to ſay they had done it before; their danger began now to ſhow itſelf, and to ſtare in their faces a little; they began to conſider what they had been doing with others, and what was now like to be doing with them; they had no more protection from the act about muſtering, and the proclamation began to work with them; and now they did the only rational act of their whole management, and which indeed ſaved all their lives.

On Thurſday morning, having maturely weighed their affairs, they reſolved to ſeparate, and lay down their arms, which accordingly they did very quietly and calmly, and carried their arms, not to the Magiſtrates, where they had them, but to the Deacons of their trades, who they knew were their friends.

How it came to paſs, that Providence, whom they had ſo far provoked, inſpired them with this prudence, ſo ſeaſonably for their own ſafety, none, but that infinite Goodneſs, that puniſhes leſs than crimes deſerve, can ſay; 'tis moſt certain, they had no particular intelligence of the march of the Queen's

Queen's troops, for the city itſelf knew nothing of them more than in general; but it was not full two hours after they had ſeparated, delivered their arms, and all was quiet, but the dragoons entered the town; not a Magiſtrate, nor an inhabitant knew of them, till they ſaw them upon the ſtreet, to their no ſmall ſatisfaction.

The whole party was about 220 men; they had marched with great ſecrecy all night, and ſuffered no body to paſs by them, to carry notice before of their coming; when they came near the city, Colonel Campbell detached an advanced party of twenty-five dragoons, under the command of Lieutenant Pollock, who knew the town, and knew where Finlay lived, the whole body following at a ſmall diſtance.

The Lieutenant entering the town, ſtopt, and alighted juſt at Finlay's door, and ruſhing immediately in with two or three dragoons, they find Finlay and one Montgomery, another of the knot, but famous for nothing that ever I heard of, but his being taken with him, ſitting by the fire; they ſeized them immediately, and by this time the whole body was entered the city, marched down to the Croſs, and drew up there on the ſtreet, where they ſate ſtill upon their horſes, it raining very hard all the time, which was about three hours.

The mob of the city were in no ſmall conſternation, as may well be ſuppoſed, at this appearance; and ſeveral, whoſe guilt gave them ground to think of the gallows, made the beſt of their way out of the town; there was no appearance of any reſcue, and the dragoons commanded the people off of the ſtreet, and to keep their houſes; two fellows had the boldneſs to beat a drum in two ſeveral parts of the city, but the gentlemen they called for had more wit than to come, and the drummers, with very much difficulty, narrowly eſcaped being killed.

The

The dragoons having ſecured their priſoners, and mounted them on horſeback, with their legs tied under the horſes bellies, never ſo much as alighted or baited their horſes, but marched away the ſame afternoon to Kilſyth.

As they were going away, they had ſome ſtones thrown at them from the tops of houſes, and ſome that were ſtraggling behind had like to have been knocked off of their horſes, but ſix or ſeven dragoons coming back, they were fetched off without hurt.

No ſooner were they gone out of the town but the drums beat again in all the ſtreets, and the rabble got together with all the rage and venom imaginable, and coming to the Magiſtrates, they told them in ſo many words, that they ſhould ſend ſome of their number to Edinburgh immediately, for that if they had not their two men delivered to them, they would pull their houſes down about their ears. Some have blamed the Magiſtrates for ſending to Edinburgh; but if ſuch would conſider circumſtances, how the dragoons were gone, they had an enraged mob to deal with, and no ſtrength to defend themſelves, it cannot but be thought the gentlemen were in the right to comply with the juncture of the time, and gratify rather than exaſperate them, when they were abſolutely in their power.

The Magiſtrates, however, according to the command of their maſters the mob (for ſuch at that time they were) ſent away two of the Baillies of the town and ſome of the Deacons of trades went with them, but they ſoon came back again as wiſe as they went, having received a ſevere check from the Council by the mouth of the Lord Chancellor; and it was once within a little of their being committed to priſon with the others.

Thus ended this petty war, being the only violence

lence we meet with in the whole tranſaction. I had not been ſo large in the relation of ſo trifling an affair, but that it ſerves to clear up ſeveral other caſes to the world, which otherwiſe there are ſeveral miſtakes about.

1. And principally indeed for the ſake of the city of Glaſgow, a city which in all ages ſince the reformation, and in the very reformation itſelf, has been particularly famous for honeſty, zeal, and bravery in a conſtant oppoſition to the enemies either of the religion or liberties of their country; a city eminent for the true and ſincere profeſſion of the reformed religion, and forward upon all occaſions to ſpend their blood and treaſure in defence of it; and as nothing can be more untrue than to ſuggeſt that this tumult was the act and deed of the city of Glaſgow, ſo to clear her of that ſcandal, I thought myſelf obliged to do her juſtice, by ſetting the caſe in its true light; nothing clears up the innocence of a perſon or party like bare matter of fact, and therefore I have impartially related this ſtory juſt as I received it upon the ſpot from ſeveral of the principal inhabitants of the city, whoſe integrity in the relation I have no reaſon to queſtion.

Nothing is more certain than that the tumult at Glaſgow had its riſe and beginning among the Jacobite party: in all the rabble and riots they were ſecured as they paſſed the ſtreets, they were careſſed by the mob, they huzza'd them to the work, their houſes were never ſearched for arms, nor the leaſt inſult offered to their perſons; the very leaders of the rabble were of their party, and indeed their friends mixed themſelves with the rabbles on all occaſions to prompt them to inſult the citizens.

The rabbles themſelves, on the other hand, were a ſort of people ignorantly inflamed by this party,

party, and unhappily ſet on fire by an accident which had its beginning rather in an ignorance of the plot of that party, than deſign to ſerve them in it.

But for the city of Glaſgow, it is clear not a citizen of any note, not a Magiſtrate, not a merchant, not any thing that can be called denominating to a place, but what abhorred it, and as far as they durſt oppoſed it; and I think it is hard they ſhould firſt fall under the misfortune, and then under the ſcandal of it too; and for that reaſon I have been thus particular in the ſtory.

Again, here may be ſeen a ſmall ſketch of the petitioners and addreſſers againſt the Union, and of their original, who they are that were moved, and who moved them; not a Papiſt, not a Jacobite, not a Prelatiſt in Scotland, but what declared themſelves againſt the Union; and thoſe honeſt men that unhappily approve them in that, may ſee what bleſſed company they were yoked with, which is a hint I cannot avoid leaving upon record for their inſtruction.

I ſhould have told you that the Sunday after being the 15th of December, the dragoons returned to Glaſgow, and inſtead of returning the two priſoners they had taken, carried away three more, and had directions for others, but it ſeems they were fled.

They went to Hamilton alſo, and ſeized two gentlemen and a lady who belonged to the Ducheſs ———, and who, they ſaid, Finlay accuſed; but both theſe, and all the reſt, were, after the Union was finiſhed, diſcharged without puniſhment; the merciful Government of her Majeſty rather delighting to pity than to puniſh the follies of the poor deluded people; ſhewing them the difference between the legally eſtabliſhed power, which they blindly

blindly oppoſed, and the paſt implacable and mercileſs tyranny which they as blindly eſpouſed.

And thus happily ended the tumult at Glaſgow, which put the honeſt people of both nations in no ſmall apprehenſions; and which, if the party had obtained their deſign in getting the poor people into arms in other places, might have been fatal enough.

Mean time the Queen was not unconcerned at theſe diſorders, and troops were ſent from England to the borders, to be ready to aſſiſt the Scotch forces, and to ſupport the Government if there had been occaſion, having orders given them to quarter in the moſt northerly towns of England, and to take their further orders from the Lord High Commiſſioner of Scotland, as there ſhould be occaſion. But the ſucceſs of things beginning to change a little after theſe hurries, there was no occaſion for them.

The Parliament was now entered upon the cloſe debate of the articles, and the firſt and chief points being paſſed in the Houſe, it was plain to every body that the Houſe was reſolved to go through the work; and it is no wonder if the laſt ſtruggles of all the parties oppoſing it were now ſeen.

All the attempts to raiſe tumults, and to rabble the Parliament out of it, had proved abortive; and it was found impoſſible to bring the common people into any thing extraordinary, while few or none of the gentry thought fit to appear with them: all that had hitherto been done, was, by an underhand kind of management of the Jacobite party, as they called them; to ſee, if poſſible, they could puſh the Preſbyterians, or the mere rabble of the common people, upon making ſome diſturbance, that ſo they might pull down their enemies by the hands of one another, and ſee their work done for them. This was apparent from the manner of proceeding, which

was,

was, by dropping papers, and ſending about private meſſages from no particular perſon, but as from their brethren in this or that ſhire; inviting, directing, and encouraging the people to meet and aſſemble; to furniſh themſelves with arms and ammunition; and naming the place and day where to meet and aſſemble, in order to march to Edinburgh; and to raiſe the Parliament, and prevent the ruin, ſuch they then called the Union, of their country, and their being given up to the Engliſh.

They took all theſe courſes to raiſe and excite the people; but ſtill they found it ineffectual as to meetings and rendezvouſes, except as you have ſeen; however, the Parliament took ſome notice of it; the Lord Commiſſioner laid it before them on the 29th of November, and they immediately cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed, to prevent tumultuary and irregular convocations of the liedges. This was the ſame which was read in Glaſgow at the time of the tumult as aforeſaid, when the people ſtoned the meſſenger that read it, off from the head of the ſtairs of the Town-hall or Tolbooth.

It had been conſidered, that there was a clauſe in the act of Security which impowered the people to meet, or convene in arms, under pretence of exerciſing the fencible men. The clauſe was as follows:

"And for a farther ſecurity to this realm, Her "Majeſty, with advice and conſent aforeſaid, ſta- "tutes and enacts, that the whole Proteſtant here- "tors, and all the burghs within the ſame, ſhall "forthwith provide themſelves with fire arms, for "all the fencible men who are Proteſtants within "their reſpective bounds, and thoſe of the bore "proportioned to a bullet of fourteen drop weight "running; and the ſaid heretors and burghs are "hereby impowered and ordained to diſcipline and

" exerciſe their fencible men once in the month at " leaſt."

Now the laſt rumours of country tumults had been pretended to be founded upon this clauſe; and, that under pretence of this exerciſing and diſciplining the fencible men, any number of men might appear together in arms without breach of the law. This was indeed a wide gap in the public peace, at which there was room for a whole army to enter: for any of the gentry, nobility, or heretors, who were diſaffected to the affair now in hand, under the protection of this clauſe, pretending only exerciſing and diſciplining the fencible men, might aſſemble together, and keep together without any limitation of number or time, till they had formed a ſufficient force, and then marched to the deſtruction of the Government, the laws, and all the defences of the public peace.

It was time now to ſtop this breach, and therefore an act was paſſed in the Houſe to repeal the above-ſaid clauſe, ſo far forth as it extended to the meeting, muſtering, and convening together of the people during the ſitting of the Parliament: which act being a very plain evidence to the truth of what I am upon, I have added here, as being not long enough to interrupt the thread of this diſcourſe.

" Our Sovereign Lady conſidering, that, by the " third act of the ſecond ſeſſion of this Parliament, " intitled, 'Act for ſecurity of the kingdom,' It is " ſtatute and enacted, that the whole Proteſtant " heretors, and all the burghs within the ſame, ſhall " forthwith provide themſelves with fire arms for " all the fencible men, who are Proteſtants, within " their reſpective bounds; and the ſaid heretors " and burghs are thereby impowered and ordained " to diſcipline and exerciſe their fencible men once " in the month at leaſt: and alſo conſidering, that " the diſorderly and ſeditious meetings and tumults

" in

" in ſome places in the country, do make it neceſ-
" ſary, at this occaſion, to ſuſpend the effect of the
" aforeſaid clauſe during this ſeſſion of Parliament
" allennarly; therefore Her Majeſty, with the advice
" and conſent of the eſtates of Parliament, doth
" hereby ſuſpend the effect of the aforeſaid clauſe,
" and that during this ſeſſion of Parliament allenar-
" ly. And farther, Her Majeſty, with advice and
" conſent aforeſaid, diſcharges and ſtrictly prohibits
" the ſubjects of this kingdom, to meet and aſſem-
" ble together in arms, after the publication hereof,
" upon any pretence whatſoever, during the ſpace
" aforeſaid, without Her Majeſty's ſpecial command,
" or expreſs licenſe had or obtained thereto. And
" requires and commands all the ſubjects of this
" kingdom, to retire to their own habitations and
" lawful employments; certifying ſuch as ſhall do
" in the contrary, that they ſhall be liable to the
" pains of high treaſon, conform to the laws and
" acts of Parliament, made againſt unlawful convo-
" cations and riſing in arms."

This was a moſt effectual ſtep to check the riots and tumults of the people, for, after this, no man of any conſideration durſt ſhow himſelf: and finding the Government reſolved to puniſh whoever ſhould make any attempt of that nature, they began to give over the thought of taking arms.

Thus the affair without doors ſeemed to attend the debates of the Parliament; and all we meet from abroad, amounted to no more than addreſſes without number from the towns and countries, and ſome from the preſbyteries, againſt the Union, in the terms of the articles; with diſputes about amendments to the ſeveral articles, as they came before them.

Mean time it may be noted, the Parliament entered upon the debate of the articles, ſtating the duties, ſettling the equivalent that was to be paid to

Scotland, in conſideration of the Engliſh debts, proportioning the exciſe, &c.

This affair of the Engliſh debts has been ſuch an occaſion of clamour in Scotland, that I cannot but think it very neceſſary to give a ſtate of it in ſhort, as it lay before the Parliament.

The treaters in England, as has been noted in the obſervations on the minutes of the treaty in London, had been convinced of the neceſſity of having the cuſtoms and exciſes of Scotland, when they came to an union, run in the ſame channel with the exciſes and cuſtoms in England; and this, by conſequence, engaged them in the ſame appropriations and incumbrances, that the ſame duties in England were liable to.

This created an objection, viz. That Scotland was under no incumbrance of debt, at leaſt none that thoſe duties were appropriated to; and, therefore, to bring her into taxes of any ſort, other than ſuch as were to bear the burden of the war, was not conſiſtent with the equalities of burdens, which were allowed to be the only foundation of an Union.

The equity of this was not to be withſtood, and therefore the Engliſh Commiſſioners readily agreed, there was no reaſon the revenue of Scotland ſhould be applied to the Engliſh debt without conditions. But, as the circumſtances of the nations required an equality of taxes; and thoſe taxes in Scotland muſt run in the channel of the taxes of the ſame kinds in England, the Engliſh muſt pay to Scotland an equivalent in money. This was ſettled by the treaty.

Now the equivalent being determined, the Parliament was for a long while employed in debating what taxes, what cuſtoms, and what exciſes ſhould be paid by Scotland.

I have

I have often noted, that there was a party who were buſy, not ſo much in arguing for regulating, as deſtroying the articles; that argued againſt the Union in general, not againſt the articles in particular: theſe having in vain ſtruggled againſt the main articles of the treaty, ſuch as union in general, ſucceſſion, communication of trade, and the like, began now to labour at the particular heads: and firſt, they would have it, that Scotland ſhould not pay any of the cuſtoms or exciſes in uſe in England; but when convinced of the injuſtice of thoſe pretences, they could no longer object againſt an equality of taxes, then they began new debates upon the circumſtances of the ſaid cuſtoms and exciſes, and puſhed at all ſorts of exemptions, inequalities of payments, reſtrictions and latitudes they could imagine, if poſſible to bring on ſome amendments upon the articles, which they knew would perplex the Union in the Engliſh Parliament; ſuch were the liberty of exporting wool, the exemption from the duties on ſalt for ever, the reducing their ale to the exciſe of ſmall beer in England, and the like; and this makes it appear, that I have not wronged them, in ſaying, that their deſign was at the Union in general.

It would be too much to enter upon the diſcourſe here of the ſeveral objections againſt the equivalent, the taxes, the exciſes, &c. and innumerable cavils at the ſeveral duties on export or import. Theſe things occupied the whole town, and all the people, as their ſeveral fancies and informers led them, ſpent the time in canvaſſing and diſputing the articles of commerce, impoſt, &c. what could be paid, and what not.

Nor is it to be wondered that theſe debates were warm; for, as the proſpect of tumult began to abate, the people took the more liberty in ſpeech; and the Government being very backward to puniſh the

the exorbitances of the tongue, at a time when they were inviting all the people to unite, all the gall and ill humour of the party vented itſelf at the mouth. This filled the country with innumerable raillery and reproach; all companies were divided; nay, even families, relations, and the neareſt in affection, divided upon the ſubject.

The ſcruples of religion alſo revived now; and a great many finding the treaty was like to go on, began to ſet up their foundations for oppoſition, and revive the ſcruples of the union interfering with the national covenant; the danger of the church of Scotland, from the ſuffrages of the Engliſh biſhops, &c.

All theſe things helped to raiſe heats among the people, and ſome went up to a ſtrange height of jealouſy and diſcontent; and what they could do, they did: as for tumults and rebellions, that time began to be over with them, but parties and feuds increaſed every day; and ſo they went on till the Parliament went through the whole treaty.

13 JY 63

FINIS.